LIFE & TIMES OF

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LIFE AND TIMES
OF
MAHARAJA RANBIR SINGH
(1830-1885)

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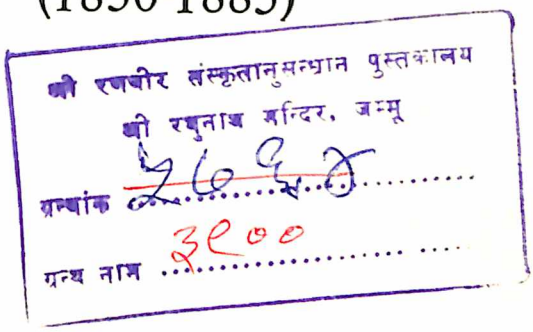

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Foreword by
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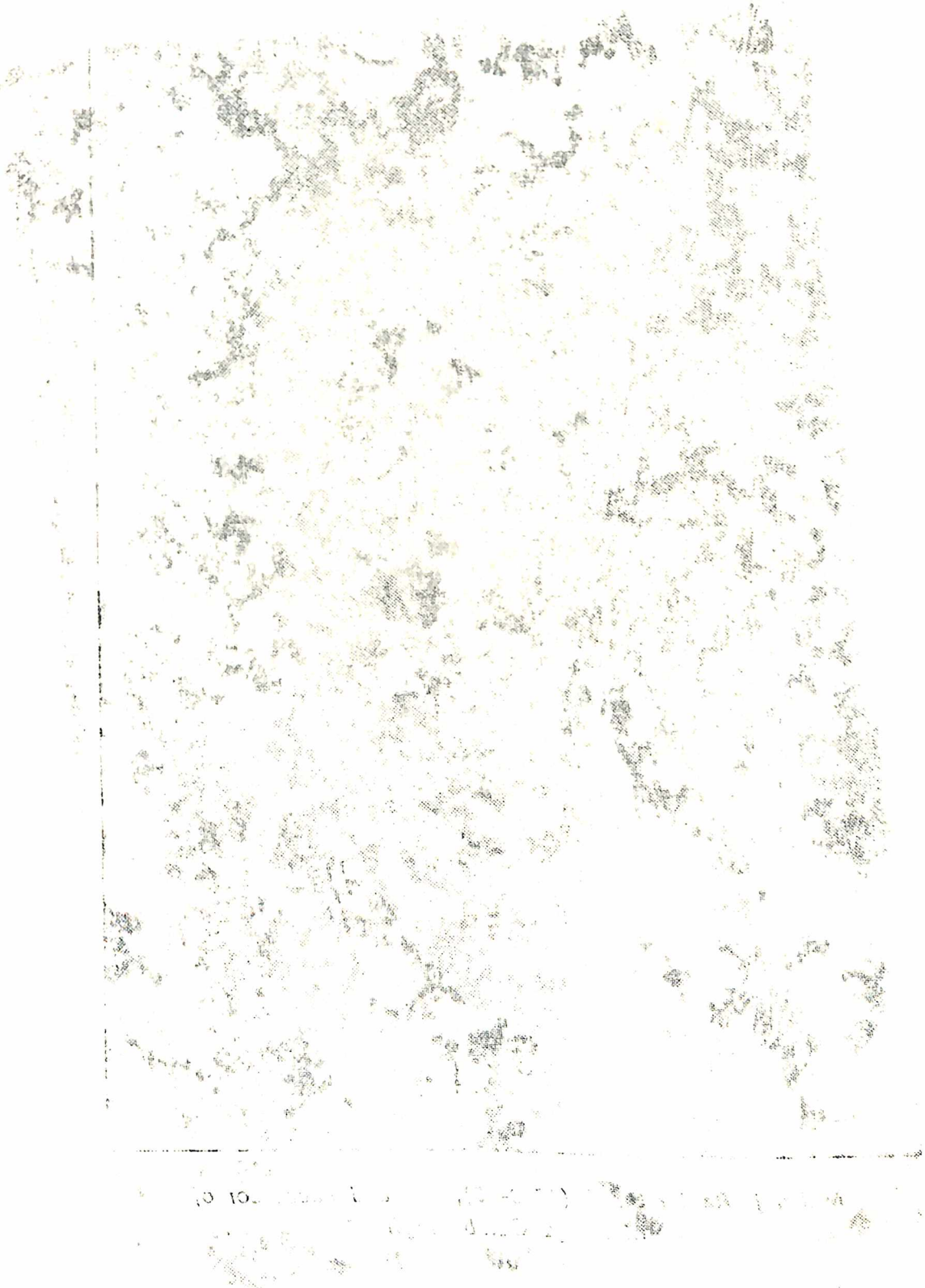

Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1830-85), son and successor of Maharaja Gulab Singh

श्री रणवीर संस्कृतानुसन्धान पुस्तकालय
श्री रघुनाथ मन्दिर, जम्मू
ग्रन्थांक ....2698.....
ग्रन्थ नाम ....3800.....

Dedicated
to
MAHARAJA RANBIR SINGH
the consolidator of Jammu & Kashmir
State
the torch-bearer of justice
and secularism
and the patron of letters par excellence
on his first death centenary, 1985

श्री रणवीर संस्कृतानुसन्धान पुस्तकालय
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ग्रन्थांक ..... २८९४ .....
ग्रन्थ नाम ..... ३९०० .....

Foreword

Dr KARAN SINGH

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वेदाहमेत पुरुषम्महान्त आदित्यवर्णम

It is always rather embarrassing to have to praise one's ancestors, but after reading the present book I am sure the readers will agree that in this instance, at least, the exercise is fully justified. The founding of the composite State of Jammu & Kashmir in the middle of the nineteenth century was one of the major geo-political development in the subcontinent, marking as it did the extension of the sovereignty of Jammu & Kashmir State, and indirectly of the suzerain power of the British and subsequently of the Indian Republic itself, deep into the heart of Central Asia and Western Tibet. The foresight, valour and patriotism shown by Maharaja Gulab Singh and his great Generals, including General Wazir Zorawar Singh and General Baj Singh, and administrators such as Mehta Basti Ram and Dewan Punnu was truly astounding. The Central Asian campaigns fought at an altitude of over 11000 feet above sea level by Dogra forces drawn largely from the foothills of Jammu, Kangra and the Punjab, will be recorded forever in the annals of world military history.

While the story of the founding of the Jammu & Kashmir State by Maharaja Gulab Singh has to some extent been documented by Panikkar, Bawa and other historians, the second phase which involved the consolidation of this huge polyglot State with an area greater than that of Britain and stretching from the plains of the Punjab right up to the Pamir plateau has received grossly inadequate attention. The man responsible for this great task was Maharaja Gulab Singh's son and successor Maharaja Ranbir Singh, whose life and times are presented here to the modern reader for the first time in a comprehensive manner.

There can be little doubt that from several standards Maharaja Ranbir Singh was an outstanding ruler. His first achievement lay in the difficult task of consolidating the State set up by his father, which consisted of several distinct geographical, ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic units. That this had to be done under the overall suzerainty of a not very friendly British Government only added to complexity of the task. Maharaja Ranbir Singh was spectacularly successful in providing a firm administrative structure to the State. His legal code, known until today as the Ranbir Penal Code, provided the conceptual foundation for his administration. In the field of postal services also pioneering work was done during his rule.

Secondly, Maharaja Ranbir Singh was remarkable not only as a great administrator but as a patron of literature and a great builder of temples. In the field of literature he not only encouraged the development of Dogri but also expended considerable sums of money in collecting Sanskrit and Persian manuscripts which are now to be found partly in the State archives and partly in the library attached to the Sri Raghunath Temple in Jammu. However, it was in the sphere of temple-building that, to my mind, Maharaja Ranbir Singh made his most outstanding cultural contribution. He constructed a whole series of massive and beautifully executed temples in the Jammu region, the most prominent of which is the Sri Raghunath Temple complex and the Sri Ranbireshwar Temple in Jammu town. It is not possible here for me to enter into a detailed description of these temples, but having visited almost all major Hindu shrines in India I can say with confidence that in conception and execution the Jammu temples can hold their own even with the great temples of South India. Apart from Jammu town, Maharaja Ranbir Singh was building a whole string of temples from Purmandal and Uttarbehni down to Jammu in order to create an Uttar Kashi, a Varanasi in North India.

Along with the construction of these temples he started Sanskrit Vidyalayas which over the last century have given free education to thousands of students from India and abroad. In order to ensure the proper maintenance of all these shrines and institutions, Maharaja Ranbir Singh set up the Dharmarth Trust, Jammu & Kashmir. It is important to point out that Maharaja Ranbir Singh's interests were by no means confined to the State. He made contributions to the Punjab University and also set up Dharamshalas at Hardwar, Varanasi and Rameshwaram. Although a devout Hindu, he was by no means intolerant of other religions. In fact it was during his reign that the Jama Masjid at Srinagar was renovated and a water-duct constructed for ablutions in the mosque. W.R. Lawrence who knew him intimately admired in Maharaja Ranbir Singh the happy blending of religion and secularism, and described him as "a model Hindu prince, devoted to his religion and Sanskrit learning but kind and tolerant to the Musalmans to whom he allowed free exercise of their religion".

Maharaja Ranbir Singh ascended the throne on 20th February 1856 while Maharaja Gulab Singh was still alive. Indeed, in a unique act, Maharaja Gulab Singh himself gave his son the Raj Tilak and then made him a ceremonial offering as one of his subjects. Maharaja Ranbir Singh ruled for twenty-nine years until he passed away in 1885 at the comparatively young age of fifty-five. In view of his outstanding contributions to the development and consolidation of the Jammu & Kashmir State, it was thought appropriate that the occasion of his Death Centenary should be used to undertake a broad spectrum of commemorative activities. Among these are the construction of the Ranbir Yatri Nivas in Jammu, installation of a life-size bronze statue of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in front of the Sri Ranbireshwar Temple, and construction of a spacious community hall in Srinagar to be named Ranbir Bhawan. These projects will be completed by the end of 1985 which we have selected as the Centenary Commemoration Year. The actual date of his passing away was 12th September 1885, and it is on that day that the statue will be unveiled in front of the great Shiva temple at Jammu. The major financial responsibility for all these projects has, appropriately enough, been undertaken by the Dharmarth Trust. I have been greatly aided by members of the Centenary Celebrations Committee to whom I express my deep gratitude.

Apart from the projects I have mentioned, it was felt that a comprehensive and intensively researched biography of Maharaja Ranbir Singh should be commissioned for this occasion, so that his

remarkable contribution can be better appreciated by a wide circle of scholars, historians and laymen in India and abroad. When I first mooted the idea, Shri B.P. Sharma, who had recently retired from Government service, was good enough to prepare a preliminary monograph presenting the considerable knowledge that he had gathered regarding Maharaja Ranbir Singh during a lifetime's study. Subsequently, it was felt that a fuller academic work was indicated into which Shri B.P. Sharma's material would also be incorporated. This task was given to Prof. Sukdev Singh Charak of the Jammu University, who has done pioneering work in the field of Dogra history and has published a number of important volumes in this sphere including the definitive critical edition of Dewan Kirpa Ram's Gulābnāma. After Professor Charak had produced his first draft, I requested Shri B.N. Grover, Secretary of the Indian Council for Historical Research, to go through the whole manuscript and let us have his suggestions. He did this in great detail, and the present volume is thus the combined result of the work of three scholars—Shri B.P. Sharma, Shri B.N. Grover and Prof. S.S. Charak. However, the main authorship rightly belongs to Prof. Charak, and I have great pleasure in presenting the Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh to the interested public.

Perhaps I should end this foreword on a personal note. Since the founding of the Jammu & Kashmir State in 1846, I am fifth in the direct line of descent from the founder Maharaja Gulab Singh. For some reason, however, I have from childhood felt myself most deeply drawn to Maharaja Ranbir Singh. His love of Sanskrit and of temples seems to have in some way filtered down to me, and although conditions a century later are vastly different, I have tried in my own way and with all the limitations of the present situation to continue the work that he started in both these fields. I would, therefore, like to pay a personal tribute to my distinguished ancestor and to express my gratitude to him for the inspiration and achievement that he has left behind for us all.

Jammu,
9 March, 1985

(KARAN SINGH)
SOLE TRUSTEE
Dharmarth Trust, Jammu & Kashmir

Preface

The study of *LIFE AND TIMES OF MAHARAJA RANBIR SINGH* offered me an occasion to take stock of various trends and currents in statecraft and politics in Jammu and Kashmir and around and among the British circles concerning this State. It was particularly refreshing to note that Ranbir Singh upheld the Dogra tradition of secularism and manifested a genuine spirit of service to his people without being swayed by partiality for regions, factions and caste or creed. He also followed the Hindu ideal of justice and equity and patronised his subjects without making any discrimination between Hindu or Musalman, Gujar or non-Gujar, trans-or cis-Banihal. Constitutionally he possessed unlimited and autocratic powers, but practically he had divested himself of his personal whims and caprices and ran his administration in a spirit of benevolence and common weal of all his subjects.

No particular work has been done on the period of Ranbir Singh's reign except on some aspects of the Anglo-Dogra relations which attracted the special attention of research scholars because of the emergence of Kashmir problem after 1947. However, a recent work on the history of Judicial system in the State by Dr. Hari Om Mahajan is a pleasant exception and succinctly traces development of Judiciary in Ranbir Singh's reign also. The oft-quoted Urdu biography of Maharaja Ranbir Singh by Thakur Kahan Singh Balauria, is only a very brief and sketchy pamphlet of about 40 pages. The Persian work *Tarikh-i-Hasan* contains only very sketchy glimpses of Kashmir under Ranbir Singh's governors. F.M. Hussnain's books *British Policy Towards Kashmir* and *Gilgit, Northern Gateway of India,* and Dr. M.L. Kapur's monogram entitled *Kashmir Sold and Snatched* also deal

only with Anglo-Dogra relations and some Tribal annexations of Ranbir Singh. Some very important books like those of G.J. Aldar, S.C. Bajpai and D.K. Ghose, also deal exclusively with British policy towards Jammu and Kashmir State but Ranbir Singh's achievements in multifarious fields were out of their focus. However, I am indebted to these scholars, and to several others for the use of their works in the construction of my chapter on Ranbir Singh's relations with the British exploiters of India.

The original sources on his life and achievements, his system of administration, social, economic and cultural conditions of his period, are numerous and are to be found in the form of official documents in Persian, Takari, Urdu and English, printed administrative reports in Urdu and numerous Sanskrit and Persian Manuscripts. Some histories of Jammu and Kashmir in Persian and Urdu languages also contain several glimpses of his times. In consulting these sources I have received much assistance and cooperation from the staff of the State Archival Repository, Jammu and Research and Publications Department, Srinagar, for which favour I heartily thank all these staff members. *Ranbir Singh's* reign is known for creation and collection of thousands of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Tibetan manuscripts, establishment of the Research Department and Translation Centres, and for the preservation of libraries, records and art pieces, and the commencement of the publication of periodical administration reports. There is, therefore, no paucity of source material in State records for the study of administrative, economic and cultural conditions of his reign and political, historical and diplomatic aspects of his times. There is also large material in National Archives of India which throws flood of light on Anglo-Dogra relations and central Asian affairs. The bulky and variegated nature of archival and published original sources will be evident from the Bibliography at the end of this work. I am grateful to the custodians of all these records for cooperation and assistance they offered me in consultation of these collections.

I am particularly beholden to Dr. Karan Singh, the sole trustee of the Jammu and Kashmir Dharmarth Trust and the members of its governing Council who entrusted to me the task of compiling this work and also made provision for adequate funds for its completion. Gulab Singh had established the Dharmarth as early as 1822, but it was Maharaja Ranbir Singh who formed it into a Trust under a legal Trust deed and framed an *Ain*, or a set of Regulation for its administration in 1883. He also raised a Dharmarth Treasury which amounted to more than thirty lakhs of rupees by the close of his

reign. The Trust, therefore, properly exonerates itself from obligation towards that chief by publishing historical account of his reign.

The success of this important and time bound assignment could not have been possible without the constant encouragement which I received from Colonel Kanwal Singh, former President of the Dharmarth Council and Maj-Gen. Govardhan Singh (Rtd.), the present Chief of the Council. The Dharmarth officials made available to me a small type-script of some 170 pages of text, by Shri B.P. Sharma couched in a journalistic style, and based on some 50 printed sources and a few newspaper cuttings and files in the Archival Repository at Jammu. I was required to perform the tremendous task of revising this *biography of Maharaja Ranbir Singh* to make it a becoming tribute to that great ruler. But after much initial effort it was decided to write a fresh book based on all types of original and secondary sources available on the subject. With the help of my assistants, thousands of Persian and English records in archives at Delhi, Patiala and Jammu, and about two hundred printed reports, gazetteers, periodicals and contemporary books listed in the Bibliography, were closely scrutinised to arrive at the account of the life and times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh contained in this volume. However, I thank Shri B.P. Sharma for the article on *The Famine of 1877* from his type script which I have included in my book as appendix to Chapter on Agrarian System and Economic Reforms.

I am also grateful to Prof. B.R. Grover and Dr. G.S. Chhabra, Head of the Department of History and Dean Social Sciences, University of Jammu for going through the manuscript and offering very valuable suggestions for the improvement of the presentation of the subject matter. My thanks are also due to my research assistants Mrs. Anita Billauria, M.A., M. Phil. (History) and Kumari Rekha Trehan, M.A. (Eco.), B.Ed., for their help in the collection and arrangement of research material and for the preparation of the first draft of the work It is mainly due to their untiring assistance that I have been able to revise, enlarge and finalise my previous manuscript in a very short time. In the end I have to thank my publishers, Jay Kay Book House, Jammu for bringing out deluxe edition of my work.

1 March, 1985
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Jammu

SUKHDEV SINGH CHARAK

List of Abbreviations

A.S.I.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.*
Elliot.	Elliot, H.M. and John Dowson: *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, reprint : Kitab Mahal, Allahabad.
For. (Dept.) Sec./ Sec. Consult.	Files and Records of Foreign Department, Secret; Secret Consultations, National Archives, New Delhi.
Gen. & Pol. Dept.	General and Political Department Records, State Archival Repository, Jammu.
Gulāb	*Gulābnāma* by Diwan Kirpa Ram, Persian text, Srinagar edition, 1876.
H.P.H.S.	*History of Punjab Hill States*, 2 vols. by J.Ph. Voghel and J. Hutchison, Lahore, 1933.
J.A.S.B.	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J.P.H.S.	*Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, Lahore.
N.A.I.	National Archives of India, New Delhi.
O.R.P.S.	*Old Records in Punjab Secretariat, Lahore, Press Lists*, 8 Vols.
Procdgs.	Proceedings.
P.G.R.	Punjab Government Records, National Archives of India, New Delhi.
R.D.L.(S).	Government Research Department Library, Srinagar.
S.A.P.	Punjab State Archives, Patiala.
S.A.R.(J).	State Archival Repository, Jammu.

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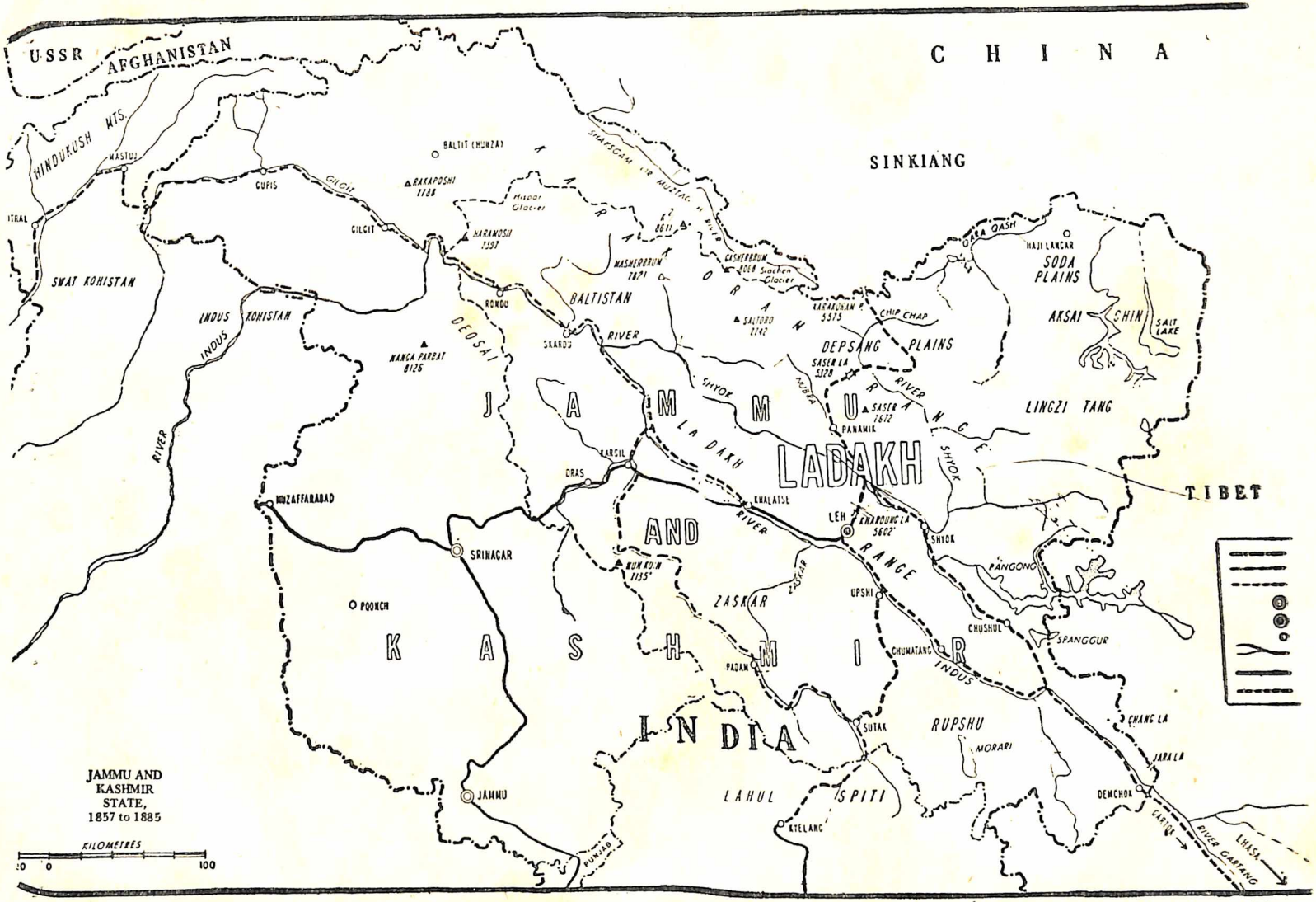

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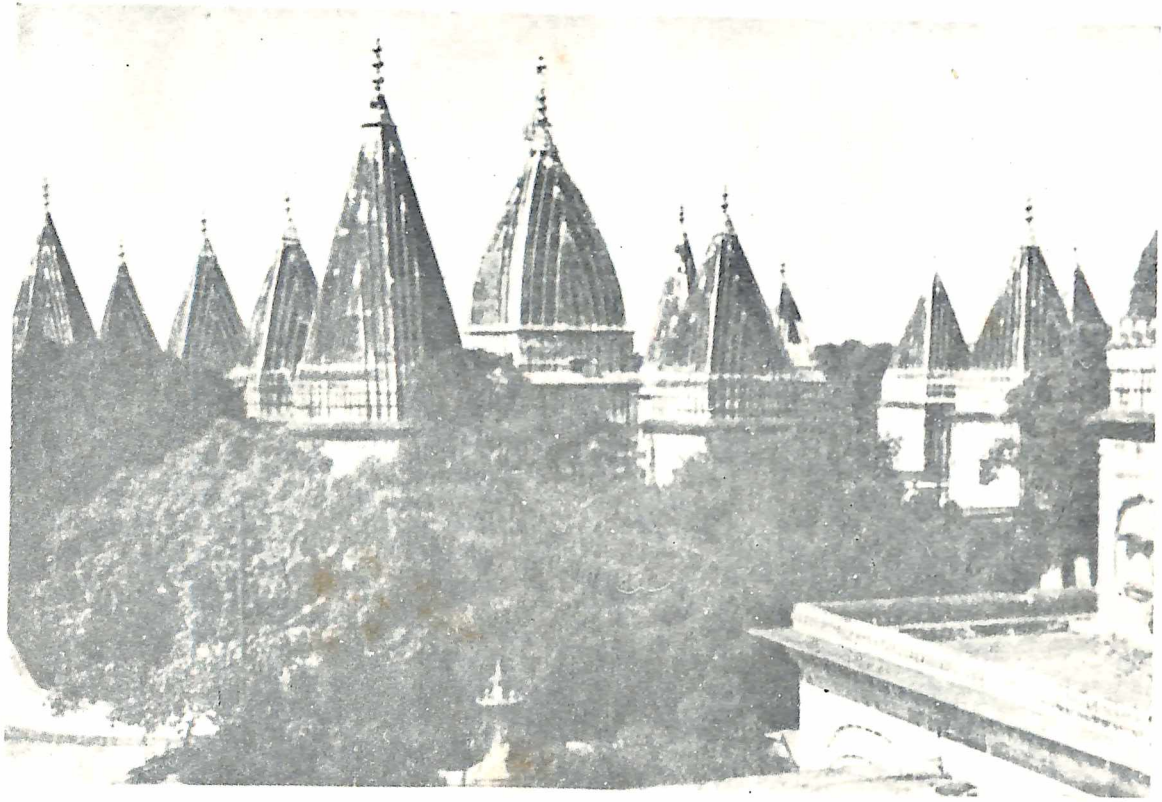
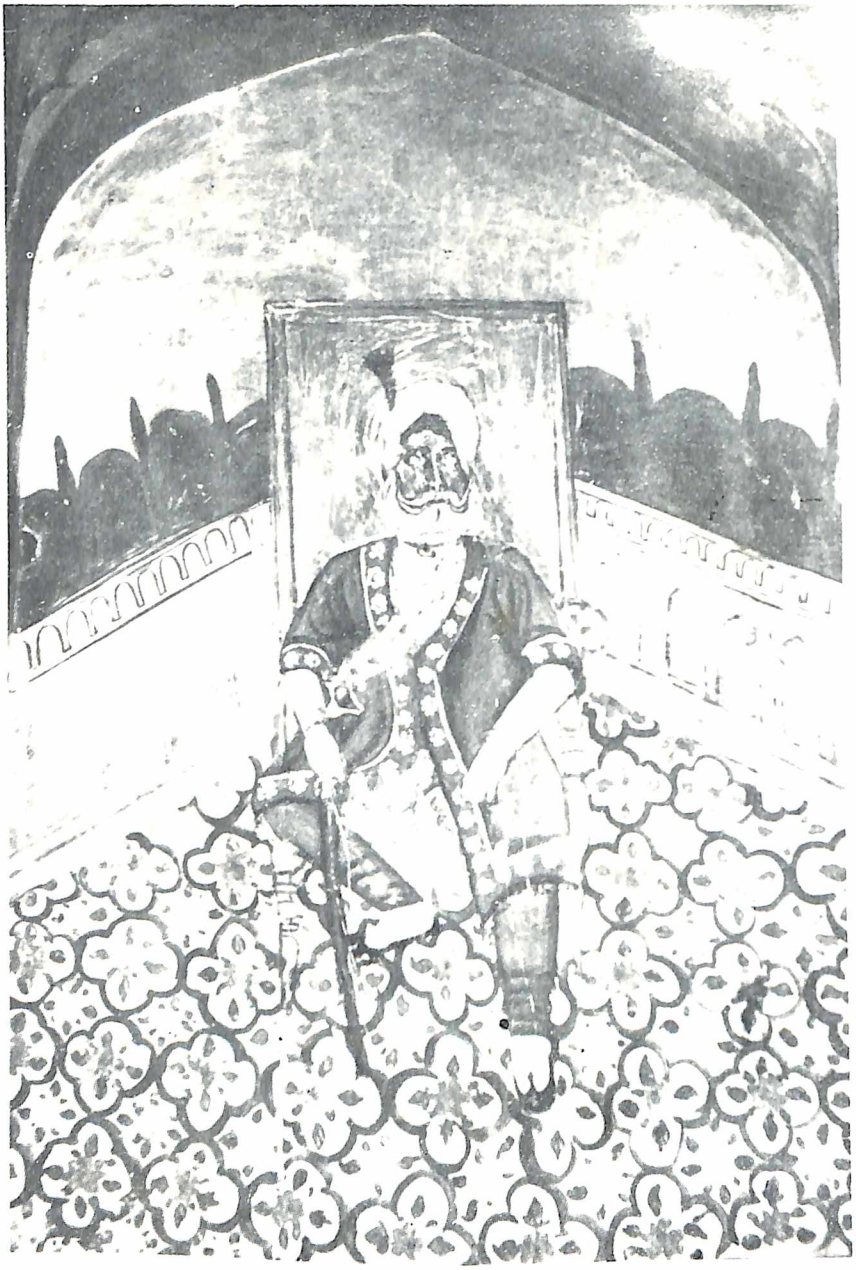


1. Raghunath Temple Complex, Jammu Built by Maharaja Ranbir Singh

2. Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1880

3. Prince Ranbir Singh
(in early youth)



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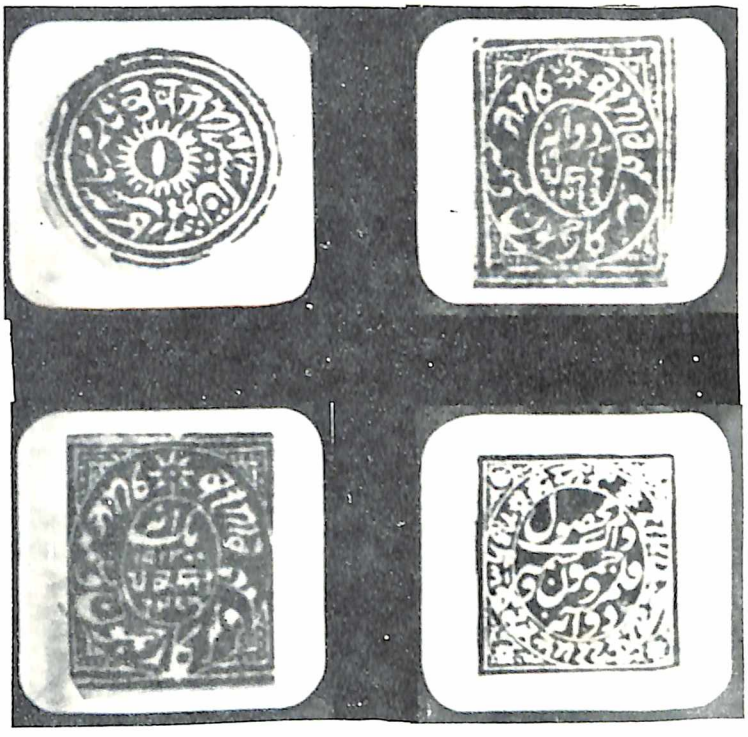
7. Facsimile of the Signature in Dogri Character of Maharaja Ranbir Singh



8. Postal Stamps of Maharaja Ranbir Singh
(Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu)

9. Express Delivery Stamp
(Dogra Art Gallery)

یا صرف قید تا دہ سال یا جرمانہ و تازیانہ یا صرف جرمانہ یا صرف تازیانہ۔

دفعہ ۱۳۵- اگر کوئی شخص تبلیس سکہ یا اشٹام کا بنا دے یا خرید ے یا فروخت کرے یا اپنی پاس رکھی اس غرض سی کہ وہ تبلیس سکہ یا اشٹام کام مین آوے تو اوسکو سزا قید تا سات سال وجرمانہ و تازیانہ یا قید تا سات سال وجرمانہ یا قید تا سات سال و تازیانہ یا صرف قید تا سات سال ہوسکتی ہی اور جرمانہ و تازیانہ ہوگا۔

دفعہ ۱۳۶- اگر کوئی شخص تبلیس سکہ یا اشٹام کو بد دیانتی سی خریدی یا فروخت کرے یا اپنی پاس رکھے یا کسی کے حوالہ کرے یا کسی کام اصل سکہ یا اشٹام کی حثیت سی لاوے تو سزا قید تا دس سال وجرمانہ و تازیانہ یا قید تا دس سال وجرمانہ یا قید تا دس سال و تازیانہ یا صرف قید تا دس سال۔

دفعہ ۱۳۷- اگر کوئی شخص بد دیانتی سی تبلیس سکہ یا اشٹام اندر حدود دسری مہاراجہ صاحب بہادر کے لاوے یا اوس علاقہ سی باہر لے جاوی تو سزا قید تا دس سال وجرمانہ و تازیانہ یا قید تا دس سال وجرمانہ یا قید تا دس سال و تازیانہ یا صرف قید تا دس سال۔

دفعہ ۱۳۸- اگر کوئی شخص اصل سکہ یا اشٹام

१० दफ्आ- यदि वेह जुरमाना सिवा कैद १० वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद के हुक्म करे तो वह कैद १० वर्ष तक की वेकी या हुरबाजा कैद के या वेदल हुरबाजा या वेदल कैद के यह तरह हुक्म उसे गा—

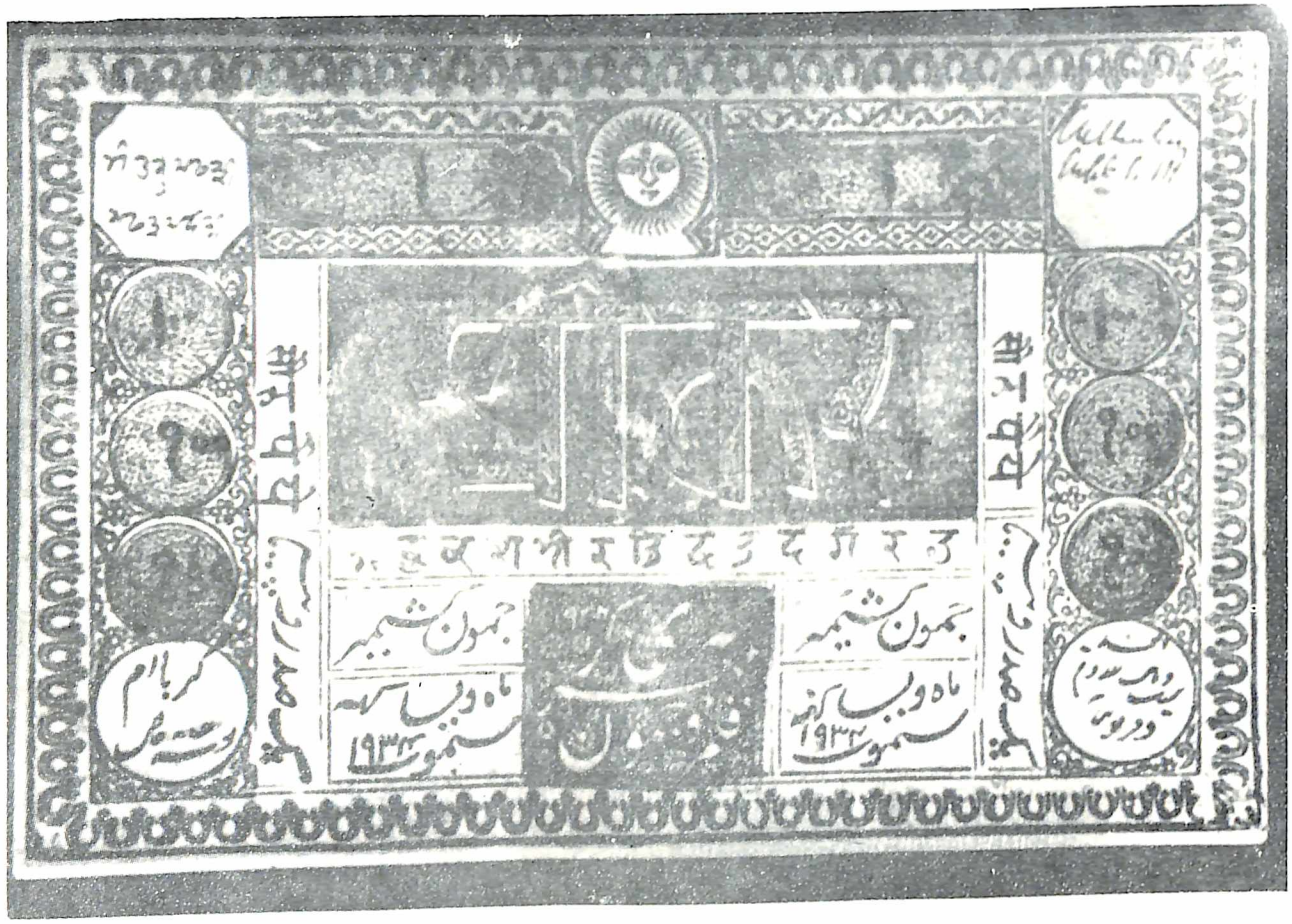
१३५ दफ्आ- यदि वेह जुरम सिवा कैद हुए के मालिक दरहे या अमीक्ष या कैद या फाइन फाइन के हुक्म के रहे कि यह मालिक दस्त के बदे के ७ वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद हुरबाजा कैद के या ७ वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद हुरबाजा या ७ वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद के या वेदल ७ वर्ष तक की वेकी यह तरह हुक्म उसे गा—

१३६ दफ्आ- यदि वेह जुरम सिवा कैद हुए वे ०फ्ओ वे हुक्म के देवे कैद कैद कैद फाइन फाइन रहे कैद वेकी वे उस के वे कैद कैद सिवा कैद की मियाद वे यजुमाना सिवा दस के बदे के १० वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद हुरबाजा कैद के १० वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद हुरबाजा कैद १० वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद के या वेदल १० वर्ष तक की वेकी यह तरह हुक्म उसे गा—

१३७ दफ्आ- यदि वेह जुरम हद हुए वर वुस्ह के हुक्म के सिवा कैद हुए वे ०फ्ओ वे इतीयाज हासल उसके उसकी वे हुस्न के बदे कैद के हुक्म वे हुस्न के दस्त के बदे के १० वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद हुरबाजा कैद के या १० वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद हुरबाजा या १० वर्ष तक की वेकी कैद के या वेदल १० वर्ष तक की वेकी यह तरह हुक्म उसे गा—

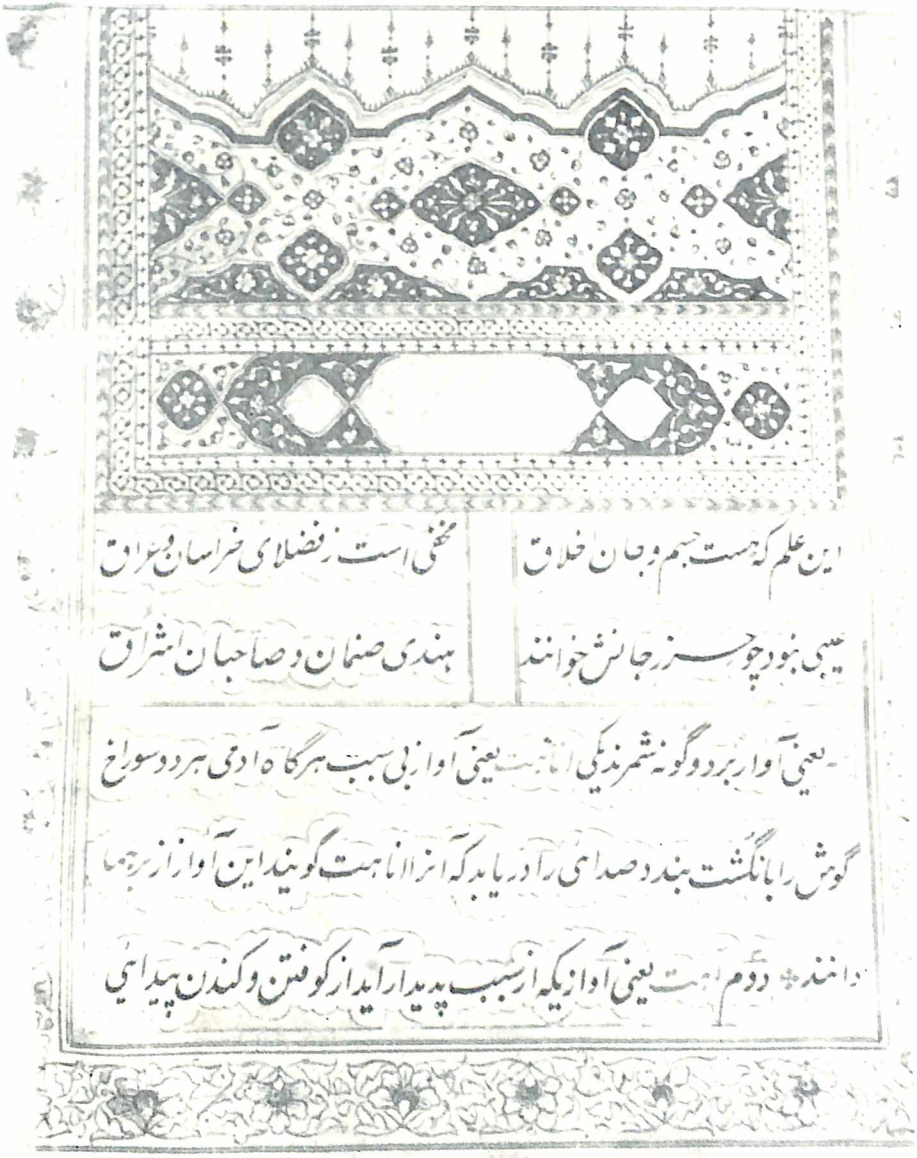
१३८ दफ्आ- यदि वेह जुरम कैद सिवा

10. A Page From Ranbir Dand Bidhi (Ranbir Penal Code) in Dogri and Urdu Script

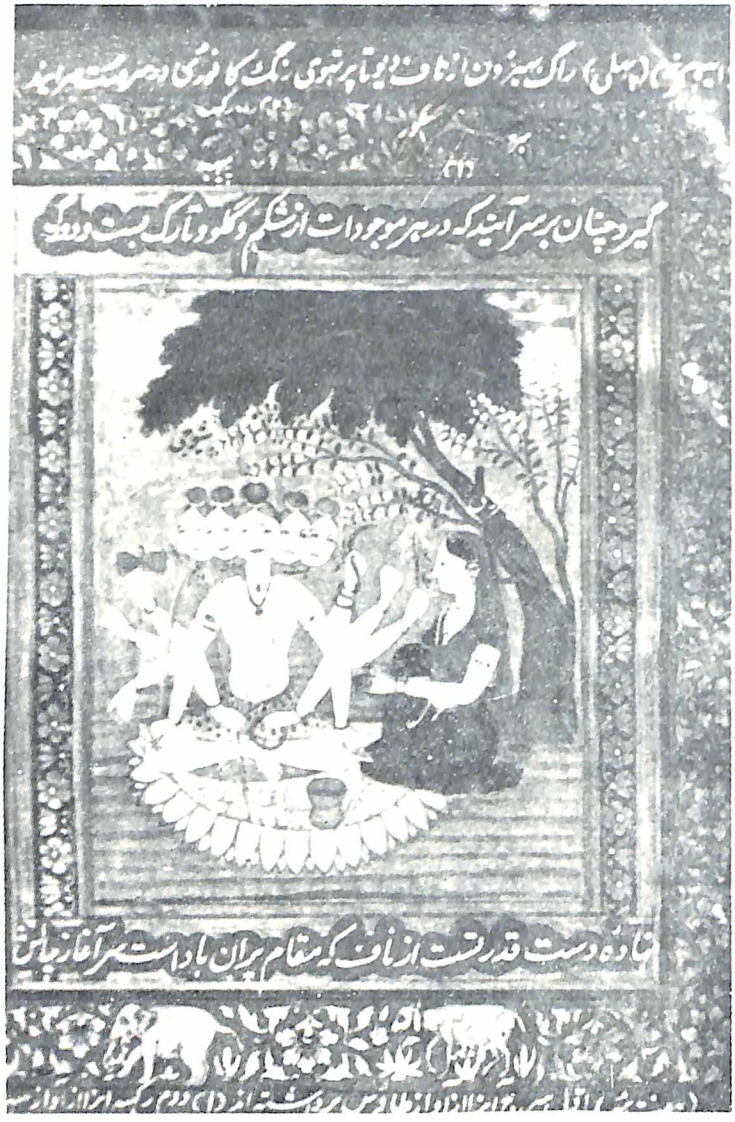


11. 100-Rupee Promissory Note (Shrikar)
issued by Maharaja Ranbir Singh
(S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar)

12. Chilki Rupee
Obverse (Left) and Reverse (Right)
(S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar)



13. An embellished page from a Rāgā-mālā manuscript by Pandit Raja Ram



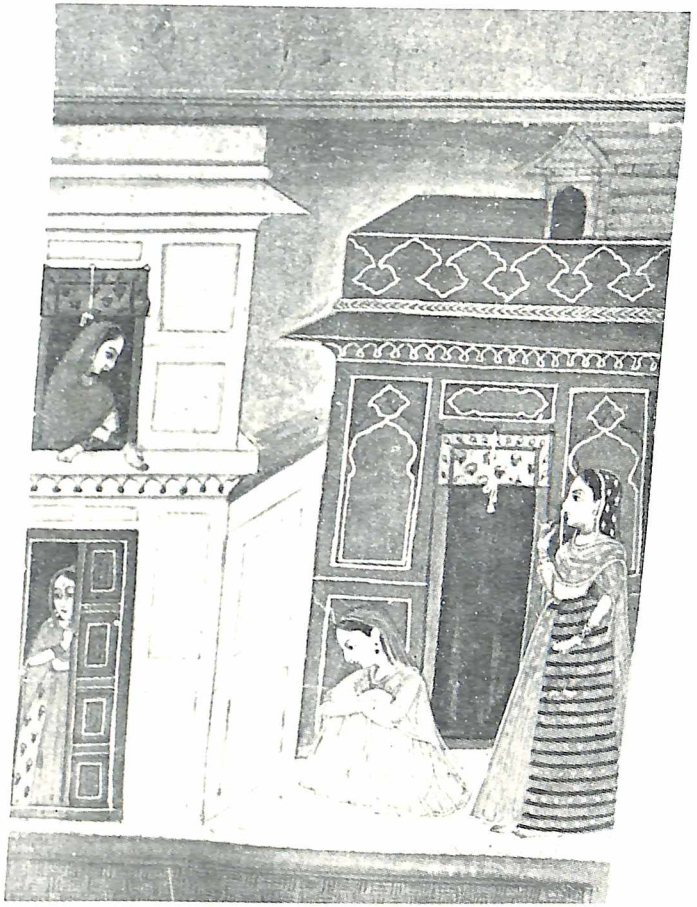
14. Raga Bhairon
Pandit Raja Ram's Rāge-mala manuscript

15. Madha-Madhvi and Deskār Raginis
From Raja Ram's Raga-mala manuscript

16. Ragini Painting
(Raja Ram's Raga-mala manuscript)

17. Bindra-bani Ragini
(Raja Ram's Raga-mala manuscript)

18. A Ragini illustration
(from a manuscript by anon)



19. A Ragini illustration
(from a manuscript by anon)

श्री रणवीर संस्कृतानुसन्धान पुस्तकालय
श्री रघुनाथ मन्दिर, जम्मू
ग्रन्थांक .....
ग्रन्थ नाम .....

CHAPTER

1

The Antecedents of a Composite State

1. The Stage

Jammu, formerly the capital of the *Jammu Ráj*, stands at the foot of the Himalayas and was once "one of the most oriental and picturesque towns".[1] The Tawi forced its way through the narrow gorge below the town, and was formerly crossed only by a bridge of boats, which was frequently swept away by sudden floods. The cliffs overhanging the river were crowned with picturesque forts and palaces.

From the lofty terraces of Jammu one looked south and west over the plains through which flowed the three great rivers Rāvi, Chenāb and Jehlam and about a score of large torrents. This long strip from the Rāvi to the Jehlam was between 1,100 and 1,200 feet above the sea,[2] and varied in width from 3 to 4 miles upto 20, and was part of Jammu Province before 1947. The northern fringe of this plain lying under the slopes of the outer hills, called the *Kandi*, included the former *tehsils* of Kathuā and Jaisalmergarh, the entire district

1. Arthur Neve, *Picturesque Kashmir*, Sands and Company, London, 1900, p. 2.

2. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Superintendent Govt. Printing Press, Calcutta, 1890, pp. 7 and 397.

of Jammu comprising Sāmba, Ranbirsinghpurā, Jammu and Akhnūr *tehsils*, and the *tehsils* of Bhimber and Mirpur.[3] The tract was characterised by poor cultivation and stony and sandy soil thirsting for water.

Northwards to the south of the Pir Panjāl lay the country of low lying hills of the Siwālik, known as the Outer Hills. The *tehsil* Basohli of Kathuā District, the Riāsi district, the Udhampur district and *tehsil* Kotli of Mirpur district were included within this belt,[4] which were mostly between 2,000 feet to 3,000 feet in height. Of course, in Bhadarwāh and Kashtwar the hills reached a height of over 5,000 feet. These hills were often quite bare, only partly covered by a few forest or scrub.[5] They grew higher and higher, rising to about 8,000 to 13,000 feet in the region of the Middle Mountains, and virtually merged with the Pir Panjāl which separated Jammu and Ladākh on the north-east and from Kashmir on the north west. Beyond the Pir Panjāl lay the flat plateau on which rested the exquisite valley of Kashmir. Up steeper flights of the Himalayas we pass to Astor and Baltistān on the north, Gilgit on the west and to Ladākh on the east, a tract drained by the river Indus. Here the mountain ranges were of heights of from 17,000 upto 22,000 feet and more, one peak had an altitude of 28,265 feet.[6] The whole area was shadowed by a wall of giant mountains which ran east of Hindukush, leading to the Pāmirs and the Chinese dominions, along the Muztāgh and Korākoram ranges which merged in the Kuenlun mountains. Westward of the northern angle above Hunzā-Nagar, the mighty maze of mountains and glaciers tended a little south of east along the Hindukush range bordering Chitrāl and so on into the limits of Kāfiristān and Afghān. To the north-east, in Ladākh a few places were table-lands, 'flat spaces surrounded by mountains. The most remarkable were the Deosāi Plateau, and the plateau of Lingzithang and the Kuenlun plains; the former is 12,000 or 13,000 and the latter 16,000 to 17,000 feet above the sea, inhabited by a few hundred families of the migratory Chāmpā tribe.

Varied as this region was in its physical characters, its population was no less so. The several tribes that dwelt here mainly belonged to the great Aryan race. The Outer Hill region and the *Kandi* plain east of Akhnūr was occupied by the Hindu Dogras who had been the rul-

3. *Census of India*, Vol. XXIV, Jammu and Kashmir States; Pt. I, Report, 1933, p. 2.
4. *Census of India*, Vol. XXIV, 1931, p. 2.
5. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
6. Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, reprint, 1971, p. 4.

ing race of these territories. The western part of the Outer Hills was inhabited by Dogras converted to Islam, called Chibhālis, who shared their land with Gakhars, Sudans and Muslamised Thakurs also. In the region of the Middle Mountains inhabited the hardy and active people called the *Pahāris*, who shared their eastern heights with Gaddi's and Gujjars. Both these tribes were migratory in habit, rearing flocks of sheep and herds of buffaloes, respectively. Sprinkled among these inhabitants of the *Kandi* plain and the mountains were the servile tribes of Meghs, Dums and their kinsfolk.[7]

To the north of Pir Panjāl in the Kashmir Valley and on the surrounding heights dwelt Kashmiris, a large-made and robust people of Aryan race. They were in large proportion Muhammadan, but some fraction of them remained Hindu. To the highly mountainous country north of Kashmir dwelt the Dards, another branch of Aryan race speaking their own language. Next, there were three groups of Turānian or Tibetan race, who lived on the loftiest of the inhabited regions; the Chāmpās who were nomads, wandered among the level valleys of Rupshu, the Ladākhis who were a settled and cultivating people, were in villages which in height above the sea varied from 13,500 to 9,000 feet; the next, the Baltis were found at from 10,000 or 11,000 down to 6,000 feet.[8]

2. The rise of the Dogras

Though inhabited by numerous tribes and communities the political history of Jammu is mainly the story of its rise and expansion under the Dogra rulers. Their recorded family traditions take this line back to the hoary past and make it descend from the divine Brahmā himself through Ikshvāku, Rām Chandra and Jambulochan, who is said to have founded the city of Jambu or Jammu.[9] But this legendary origin evades all research. It does not find mention by that name in ancient Sanskrit literature or Persian works, and terms like 'Dugar' and its ethnographical derivation 'Dogra' first appear in

7. Atkinson, Edwin T., *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, reprint, Cosmos Publications, Delhi-6. 1973, p. 31 (First published Allahabad, 1882 under the title (*"The Himalayan Districts of North-Western Provinces of India"*).

8. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7. The Total population figures available for 1873 are: Jammu Province 8, 61, 075; Kashmir Province, 4, 91, 846; Ladākh, Skardū and Gilgit, 1, 04, 485; Punch, 77, 566. Total=15, 34, 972.

9. Charak, S.D.S., Kirpa Ram's *Gulābnāmā*, Eng. tr., Light and Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 3-6.

the records of the 9th and 10th centuries[10] of the Christian era.

The early history of the state is shrouded in the mystery of confusing tradition. According to the *Vansāvali* the first Raja named Agnigir, is said to have been a brother or kinsman of Agni-barn, the Raja of Ayudhiā.[11] He came to the Punjab by way of Nagarkot (Kāngra) and after crossing the Rāvi, settled at Parol, near Kathuā.[12] His son, Vāyusrava, added to his territory the country of the Outer Hills as far west as the Jammu Tawi. The fifth ruler after him was Agnigarbh, who had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest two were Bāhu-lochan and Jammu-lochan.[13] Bāhu-lochan succeeded his father. He is said to have founded the Bāhu fort. In an effort to extend his kingdom towards the plain he came in conflict with Chandrahās, the ruler of Madra-desa (North-east Punjab), and was killed in battle, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Jambu-lochan The later defeated and killed the Raja of Madra-desa and founded Jambu or Jammu town on a spot atop a hill where he had once seen a deer and a lion drinking water together from a tank.[14] He made it his capital.

Jammu has no ancient building or remains, nor anything to indicate that it is a place of great antiquity. Yet it seems to be a fairly old town. In the *Tārikh-i-Kashmir* by Āzami, a work of 17th century, a Raja of Jammu is referred to and the town is spoken of as about five hundred year old.[15] It is quite possible, however, that Jammu may date from an earlier period, as legends suggest. This conjecture finds some support from an interesting tradition which pushes back the antiquity of Jammu to the early Christain centures. "Kaid Rāj", writes Ferishta, "was by the sister's side of Mahā Rāj, in accordance with whose will and testament he ascended the throne. At that time Rustam, son of Dastān, had been killed. He (Kaid Rāj) dwelt for some time in one of its ancient cities named Behrā, and then built the fort of Jammu. In it he placed one of his adherents, a man of the

10. For a detailed discussion in the matter see "*Maharaja Ranjit Dev and the Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*" by S.D.S. Charak; and *Indian Antiquarian*, 1888, p. 9.

11. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulābnāmā*, op. cit., p. 6.

12. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 520.

13. *Gulāb.*, pp. 6-7.

14. *Ibid.* The spot on which the tank was found is now called the Purani Mandi, *Cf. H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 521. It was here that, till the last ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, Maharaja Hari Singh, the Rajas of Jammu on their accession received the *Rājtilak*, or the mark of investiture, at the time of installation.

15. *H.P.H.S.* Vol. II, pp. 521-22.

Gakkar (according to Briggs, Malnās, probably, Manhās) tribe, named Durg and made him its governor. From that time to the present (about A.D. 1611) the fortress has remained in the possession of that tribe".[16] Further down the pages of his *muqqadmā*, Ferishta, while describing the exploits of Raja Rām Deo Rathore of Kanuj, refers to his conquest of Jammu.[17] These events are said to have happened in the first century A.D.[18] It is, therefore, probably that Jammu may date from the earlier centuries of the Christain era, though it may not have been a place of any importance and did not become the capital till much later. There are good reasons to believe that the capital was at Bāhu and the Rajas resided in the strong fort till they retired to Babbapura[19] as a result of the foreign invasions after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. That the Rajas of Jammu-Bāhu principality, used to take refuge in the mountains in times of need is evident from a reference in the tradition recorded in the *Gulābnāmā*, which narrates that hardpressed by the enmity of Raja Sal or Salvāhana of Sialkot, formerly known as Sākala,[20] (about 100 B.C.), Raja Shiv Prakāsh of Jammu and his Jamwāl clan migrated to the rugged mountain tract,[21] where he and his successors are said to have lived for some generations. Jammu was then recovered and the Jamwāls returned home. Most probably the reference is to Bāhu, which still must have been the capital of the ancient principality.

Thereafter one finds in the *Vansāvali* only a long string of names which brings us down to the early part of the sixth century B.C. when a certain king, Bali Baran, was ruler of Jammu who was the last of a legendry dynasty mentioned in the *vansāvali*.

After the death of Bali Baran there seems to have occurred a dynastic change with the accession of Raja Bodh Arjun, probably during the first half of the fifth century B.C. This was probably the first historical dynasty of Jammu which ruled upto the middle of the first century B.C. During this period great political upheavals struck the Dogra land which altogether demolished the structure of the empire and disintegration set in. The neighbouring ruler of Nagarkot-Kāngra, Raja Mangal Chand invaded Jammu and defeated and

16. Cf. Briggs, *Tārikh-i-Farishtā* or *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimi*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Introduction; Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 555.

17. Elliot and Downson, *History of India*, Vol. VI, pp. 561-62.

18. *H.P.H.S.* Vol. II, p. 515.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 522.

20. Chnningham, Sir A., *A.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 21-22, says that Salvāhana was Raja of Sialkot; Vol. II, p. 522-23.

21. *Gulāb*, p. 9.

killed Rāj Vallab,[22] the seventh descendant of Both Arjun, who ruled over Jammu around 450 B.C. However, Rāj Vallabha's cousin Bhānu Jakh (Yaksh) defeated and killed Raja Mangal Chand after some time and liberated Jammu. But he could not retrieve its former glory, nor could his eight descendants who ruled after him, probably as small *Rānās* as vassals of Takshilā house or possibly of the Hukhamanashyas (Achaemenians) of Gandhāra. For a couple of centuries after 500 B.C., part of Punjab may have formed a province of Persian empire. In the Behistun inscription of Dāryāvaush (Darius-I, 522-486 B.C.) Gandhāras appear as the subject people of the Persian empire,[23] and continued so at least down to the reign of Persian emperor, Artaxerxes[24] and Darius III who was contemporary of Alexander. Probably the Gandhāra province extended upto the Rāvi or the Biās and the Jammu region, then known by the combined name of Darvābhisāra, was a part of that satrapy which had two capitals, trans-Indus Pushkalāvanti and eis-Indus Takshilā. Thus it is not improbable that in the struggle between the Madras of Sialkot and the Gandhāra Satraps of Takshilā, Jammu had lost its identity and had been relegated to a subordinate position. There is a reference in the *Vansāvali* that the line of kings from Ādivarāh down to Damodar Datt, a dynasty of eight kings, ruled from Takshilā and held sway over Jammu, Kashmir as well as the Punjab.[25]

Ferishta narrates an interesting tradition of these pre-Christian eras, pertaining to a certain ruler, Kaid Rāj, who dwelt for some time in Bherā and built the fort of Jammu where he placed one of his adherents, a man of Ghakhar who claim a Persian descent, from Sultan Kaid, son of Kaigohar.[26] This Kaid was probably the Kaid Rāj who held sway over Gandhāra and western Punjab as a Persian satrap of the Achaemenians, with Jai Chand as his governor of the north-west Punjab.

The line of twelve kings, from Damodar Datt to Nand Gupta, is

22. Anon, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (MS), pp. 17-18; *Rajdarshani* (SPM. MS), folios, 83a, 83b; *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, p. 57.

23. *Ancient Persian Lexican and the Texts of the Achalmenian Inscriptions* by H.C. Tolmon.

24. *Indian Antiquarian*, Vol. X, 1861, pp. 304-310; Olmstead, *Hist. of the Persian Empire*, p. 145.

25. The succession given in the *Vansavali* is as under: Adi Varah, Bhumi Datt, Bhay Datt, Kusam Datt, Kahan Datt, Jai Datt, Vijay Datt, and Damodar Datt. File No. 1352, Table No. 7 (19-II), SAR-J; *Rajdarshani*, SPM. MS., Fol-85-a; *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 16.

26. Cunningham, Sir Alexandar, *Anc. Geogr. of India*, p. 208.

said to have ruled over Jammu, probably from Gandhāra, and have been considered by some to have belonged to a house different from the Jammu ruling family. This brings us down to the period in the history of Jammu when Alexander invaded north-western India. Ajay Singh, seventh descendant of Damodar Datt, was Raja of Jammu. According to Dogra annals he was married to the Madra princess, Rāni Manglān Dei, daughter of Raja Puru Sen ('Poros' of Greek historians). Ajay fought on the side of his father-in-law and was killed in the battle. It is interesting to note that only Dogra annals give the name of Puru Sen's capital as Goti Pani which was situated to the east of Behat (Vitastā, i.e., Jehlum).

'RAI' Dynasty

After the end of the rule of Takshilā dynasty with the death of Nand Gupta in the middle of first century, B.C. Jammu seems to have become independent once again under the new indigenous dynasty of 'Rāi' kings, incepted by Ādi Rāi, who was contemporary of Vikramādiya of Ujjain, Ādi Rāi conquered Bhupānagari, and his son and successor Dev Rāi, married his son Gandharb Rāi in the Salehriā family of Samhalur, which territory he later annexed to his kingdom. It was with the help of Raja Gandharab Rāi of Jammu that Parvāra Sen acquired the throne of Kashmir. Gandharab Rāi died in about 90 A.D. It was during his reign that Rām Dev Rathore of Kanauj invaded the Siwālik country and defeated and subjugated the Raja of Jammu.[27]

The invasion from Kanauj was an isolated interlude whereas the main centre of power next door to Jammu was Sākala or Sialkot, the possession of which the rulers of Jammu coveted from time to time. But the powers emerging from the north west, in Gandhāra and Takshasilā, and sending their tentacles to Sākala and beyond upto Mathurā, not only ejected the rulers of Jammu from this ancient seat of power in northern Punjab, but also reduced them to submission so often. The *Vansāvali* refers to one such event, when the legendary hero, Raja Salvāham fought with the Sakas. defeated them and conquered whole of the Punjab and occupied Sākala and recognised probably Dev Rāi, grandson of Gandharab Rāi, as Raja of Jammu

27. Ferishta, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* or *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Introduction, pp. 36-37; *Guldasta-i-Kanauj* referred to by Kahan Singh Balauria, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

and his vassal and governor of all hill principalities.[28] Salvāhan was Raja of Sākala probably about the beginning of the first century A.D.[29]

Sākala or Sialkot seems again to have been occupied by the rulers of Jammu, and tenth successor of Gandharab Rāi, named Jag or Jag Rāi, had his head quarters at Sākala and ruled over the Madra-desa, probably about the first quarter of fifth century, A.D. He had two sons, Malhan Hans and Suraj Dhar. Malhan Hans also called Manharas, ruled at Sialkot,[30] and became the ancestor of Manhās Rajput tribe.

Dhar Dynasty

Raja Jog Rāi was followed on the *Gaddi* of Jammu by his younger son Suraj Dhar or Suraj Hans who succeeded in about 430 A.D. With him ushered in Jammu territories the rule of Dhar dynasty, which was supreme in the land for 390 years, upto the beginning of ninth century, and ruled for eight generations. Suraj Dhar's successor was his elder son Gangā Dhar, whereas his younger son was offered to the goodess Kālkā at Bāhu fort and his offspring came to be known as Chārak tribe of landowing Rajputs. It seems that Babbapura was the capital of Jammu at that time and *Rājatarangini* mentions at least two Dhar rulers of Babbapura, Kirti (Dhar) and Vajradhar.[31] The *Vansāvali* mentions the following eight rulers of this dynasty. Suraj Dhar, Gangā Dhar Devalā Dhar, Sarblā Dhar, Kirati Dhar, Ajay Dhar, Bijay Dhar and Bajarlā (Bajar) Dhar.

The reign of Kirti Dhar falls between 650 and 700 A.D. and was marked by the occurrence of a revolution at Delhi which had been founded three centuries earlier. Raja Bikram Pāl, the Tuar ruler of Delhi invaded Rai Tilok Chand of Braj, but was defeated and killed in about 667 A.D. Rai Tilok Chand occupied Delhi where his dynasty ruled for 144 years.[32] Raja Kirti Dhar had helped Rai Tilok Chand, consequently these rulers maintained a constant communion of friendship with the Rajas of Jammu.

The next two reigns were uneventful, till we come to Bajarlā or Bajar Dhar, the last of the Dhar dynasty, who ruled from about

28. Anon., *Tarikh-i-Jammu, op. cit.*, p. 22
29. Tod, *Annuals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 177, fn. 6; A Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 21-22.
30. Kahan Singh Balauria, *op. cit.*, p.51.
31. *Rajtarangini*, Bk. VII, verses 537-41; Bk. viii, verses 537-41.
32. *Rajdarshani*, (SPM. MS), Fol. 107b.

785 to 845. His reign was also marked by another revolution at Delhi, when a certain king Baldev Chohān, probably of Kanauj, invaded Delhi and defeated the last descendant of Bikarm Pāl, and established the rule of his own dynasty there. Bajar Dhar's relations with the new rulers of Delhi are not known. There is little doubt in Jammu's subjection to Delhi during these centries, as the power of Sialkot and Takshilā had broken up by this time. Bajar Dhar probably lost the support or recognition of Baldev Chohān with the result that his brothers and rival made his stay in Jammu impossible. Consequently, he fled to Banehr, a place in the territory of Garh-Babaor, and settled there for the last years of his life. He died in about 850 A.D. Before that time a new dynasty had established its rule in Jammu which probably occupied Banehr and Babaor also after his death.

'Dev' Dynasty

The political convulsions which struck the Dogra land about the beginning of the 9th century were marked by the ejection of Bajar Dhar from Jammu, and the rise of a new dynasty to the Dogra Rāj; the names of its rulers are suffixed by the terminal 'Dev'. Its founder was Suraj Dev who probably ruled from about 850 to 920 A.D. During these centuries the Arab invaders had established their pockets at Mansūrā, Multān and in Makrān, and were maintaining constant pressure on the Hindus kingdom of Kābul and its dependencies in the north-western Punjab. As a result of their raids some tribes like Khokhars and Gujjars were dislocated from those regions and migrated eastwards causing upheavals in the hills between the Jehlum and the Satluj. The Dogra rulers of 'Dev' dynasty, who now ruled from their head-quarters in the hills, had to face many parils to their political existence. The *vansāvali* states that Suraj Dev was killed by a Muslim commander Sherif Khan, while fighting on the side of the Hindu Shāhi ruler of Kābul, probably Kamlūka or Kamal Varman. The incident probably took place during the raids of Arab general Umar bin Lais Saffār, who fought many battles with Lalliyā Shāhi, the founder on the dynasty.[33] Suraj Dev's queen Neelā Rāni is said to have gone to succour her husband in Ghazni and there become a *Sati* at the pyre of her husband.

Suraj Dev was succeeded on the *Gaddi* of Jammu Rāj at Babbapura by his eldest son, Bhoj Dev, who seems to have been the first eminent ruler of the 'Dev' Dynasty, Some short *Vansāvalis* of the Dogra Kings start with his name.

33. Charak, S.D.S., *A Short History of Jammu Raj*, p. 56.

The one notable event of his reign was the attack on Chambā by a confederate army in which Dogra contingents under Bhoj Dev and Raja Som Pāl of Saumattikā (Samartāh) associated with the invaders, a people named 'Kira' in a Chambā copper-plate title deed of king Asata of Chambā, mentioning the events of the reign of Sahilavarman (930-40 A.D.)[34]. The Dogra ruler has been mentioned there as 'Durga-reswara'—the Lord of the Duggar. It is here that the name Durgar (Duggar) has been mentioned for the first time. The event shows close association of the Rajas of Jammu, Samartāh (Basohli) and Kiras who have been identified with Kashmiris. The *Vansāvali* gives V.S. 987 [35] as the date of this events, and it exactly tallies with the data of Chambā annals, i.e. 930 A.D.

It seems that Jammu principality was subject to the Hindu Shāhi dynasty since its inception in A.D. 850. Raja Bhoj Dev of Jammu and his son and successor, Avtār Dev, were vassals of King Jaipāl Shāhi. Bhoj Dev was killed while fighting for Jaipāl in A.D. 986-87.[36] Avtār Dev seems to have had some skirmishes with Mahmud of Ghazna.[37] He was followed by Jas Dev who ruled for thirty years and died in A.D. 1061. He is said to have founded Jasrotā.[38] After him his son Sangrām Dev, ruled for forty years, and then Jasaskar ascended the throne in A.D. 1095, and died in about 1165 A.D.

His successor, Brij Dev, was a contemporary and vassal of Shahāb-ud-din Muhammad Ghori. On his advice the Ghori conqueror built a fort at Sialkot in the neighbourhood of Jammu. Fourth in descent from him was the famous Māi Dev, who, obviously, was a great ruler. It was probably he who changed his capital from Babbapura to Jammu where he raised new buildings and laid the foundation of the greatness of Jammu city. [39]

34. Prof. Keilhorn, *Ind. Antiq.*, 1888, p. 9. For details see *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. II, p. 38.
35. Kahan Singh Balauria, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
36. *Gulabnama*, Jammu edn. 1919, p. 64; Iswari Prasad, *Hist. of Med. India*, 1952, p. 74.
37. *Gulabnama*, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.
38. *Ibid*, p. 66; Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, 1967, p. 211.
39. Speaking of Māl Dev's strength and prowess. Major G.C. Symth records : "He was now able when occasion required to assemble around him three or four thousand armed followers; nor did he, with such instruments at his command, lose the opportunity of making himself known and dreaded all over the neighbouring lowlands; where by plunder and rapine, nightly inroad and surprises, the burning of villages, with their sleeping inhabitants, and other such acts, he showed that he little respected and

Māl Dev probably ruled from 1361 to 1407 A.D. It was during his reign that Amir Timar led his invading army into India in the year 1398-99. Timur advanced as far as Delhi, and on his way back to the Indus he decided to carry a holy war against the inhabitants of the Siwāliks and marched towards Jammu. He camped near lake Mānsar. On the 19th *Jamad-i-Akhir*, 802 (A.D. 1399) Timur reached Jammu and encamped on the left bank of the river Tawi, opposite the town, and a reference occurs to 'Jammu Fort', i.e., the fort of Bāhu, also on the left bank of the Tawi.[40] He attached and plundered Jammu and the village of Manu, and imprisoned the 'Raja of Jammu' by a strategem along with fifty *Raes* and Rajputs.[41] The Raja of Jammu, who was taken wounded, agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Musalmān.[42]

Timur's personal narrative, '*Malfuzāt-i-Timuri*', refers to the "Raja of Jammu", but he is not named. The *Gulābnāmā*,[43] however, records the family tradition that it was Māl Dev and not Rāi Bhim, who fought against Amir Timur [44] Rāi Bhim's original name was Hamir Dev and he was a contemporary of the Sayyid ruler, Mubārak Shāh, and seems to have ruled between 1403 to 1423 according to the chronology of the *Gulābnāmā*. G.C. Symth also records a tradition which attributes to Māl Dev contemporiety with Timur's Indian campaign.[45] The fact of Māl Dev's conversion to Islam under compulsion cannot be ruled out, though he might have abjured it as soon as the invader had crossed the Indus. The name of Māl Dev's immediate successor Hamir Dev, Ajab Dev, Bairam Dev, Khokhar Dev also reveal some Muslim influence in the Jammu court. The *Tārikhi-i-Kashmir-i-Āzami* and *Rājatarangini* [46] of Jonaraj also make some

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even defied the great Moslem power of the age. However, the disturbances of the times gave him and some of his discendants opportunities, to revage the lowlands on different occasions for some forty or fifty coss. (*A History of the reigning family of Lahore*, pp. 236-37). *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 528. The foundation of several spots in the city has been attributed to this great & brave ruler. The present Purani Mandi Buildings are said to have been raised by him.

40. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, *Malfuzāt-i-Timuri*, 467-72.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Gulāb*, p. 28.
44. It was not Rai Bhim of Jammu as has been opined by the authors of *H.P.H.S.*
45. Symth, G.C., p. 234.
46. Srikanth Kaul (ed.) *Rajatarangini of Janaraja*, pp. 107 and 161.

ambiguous allusions to similar events.[47]

Māl Dev died in about A.D.1407 and was succeeded by his son, Hamir Dev. The latter ruler owed allegiance to Mubārak Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi who ruled from A.D. 1421 to 1434.[48] Mubārak Shāh was very fond of Hamir Dev and gave him the title, 'Bhim Dev.'[49] The Sayyid had a powerful rival in the Khokhar leader Jasrath, who had designs on Delhi and besieged Sirhind. In this struggle Bhim Dev sided with the Sayyids and even undertook to act as guide and conducted Mumbārak Shāh's army to Tekhar it the hills, which was the Khokhar's strongest place. The place was destroyed and the power of Jasrath was deflated for the time being. This happened during the Muharram, of 825 Hijri (Decemder 1421).[50]

Rāi Bhim's participation on the side of the Sayyids led to an open hostility between the two neighbouring chiefs. As soon as the royal troops withdrew "Jasrath Ghakhar appeared in the field. Collecting an army of 12,000 Ghakhars he defeated and slew Rāi Bhim, Raja of Jammu,"[51] in a battle fought in the Jamada-i-Awwal of 826 Hijri[52] (A.D. 1423). Hamir Dev was thus killed in 1423.

Hamir was followed by Ajeo Dev, Biram Dev, and Ghogar Dev, one after other. The last named ruler probably died in A.D. 1528. The days that followed were very hard for the rulers and the people of Jammu. The imposition of direct foreign rule over them was intolerable. Humāyun and Sher Shāh Suri and his successors seem to have kept a tight pressure on Jammu. The *Tārikhi-i-Sher Shāhi*[53] refers to Sher Shāh's success at subjugating Jammu in 1542 or 1543. Kapur Dev was the Raja of Jammu between 1530-1570 A.D. During this period revolts were frequent in these Hills in which the rulers of Jammu usually took part. One such revolt occurred in the reign of Salim Shāh Sur (1545-53 A.D.) when the Jammu Fort, *i.e.*, Bāhu, was captured,[54] in about A.D. 1550. Salim or Islām Shāh also built a fort at Mahorgarh and stationed there his own *faujdar*. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jammu kingdom extended from the Rāvi to the Chenāb in the west. It included in its fold the regions, probably upto the modern Patnitop, as well as the plains

47. Ishwari Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 475.
48. Kirpa Ram, p. 69 a.
49. Charak, S.D.S., *Kirpa Ram's Gulabnama*, Eng. trans., p. 23.
50. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 56-7.
51. Latif, Sayad Muhammad, *History of the Punjab*, rep. 1964, p. 148.
52. Elliot, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shah*, p. 59.
53. Elliot, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhi*, p. 59.
54. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 535.

in the south towards Sialkot. The Rajas and people of Jammu did not relish the overlordship of Delhi and continued making efforts for liberating their land. But success came only under Raja Dhruv Dev (1707-1733). From then onwards Jammu Rāj seems to have been subject to the Muslim governor, and Rajas seem to have been kept in their place as vassals and officials of the rulers of Delhi. The Rāj was further weakened by its partition into two rival principalities of Jammu and Bāhu, after the death of Kapur Dev in about 1507.

Kapur Dev had two sons, Yajna (or Jag) Dev and Smail Dev. Both of them seemed to have a large following, and in the dispute that arose, the state was divided into two parts, with the river Tawi as the dividing line. Jag Dev held his court at Bāhu, while Smail Dev ruled from Jammu. This state of affairs continued till the accession of Raj Hari Dev of Jammu, who ruled from about A.D. 1650 to 1692.

Jag Dev was succeeded by Paras Rām Dev on the throne of Bāhu, whereas Smail Dev left the throne of Jammu to his infant son Sangrām Dev.[55] Paras Rām came to the throne in about 1585 A.D. During the Mughal raids on Jammu Hills in 1588-89 and 1594-95, both Jammu and Bāhu principalities fought against the Mughal armies. The Rajas ruling in Bāhu were called Bahuwāls and those in Jammu took the name of Jamwāl".[56]

However, this Jammu-Bāhu State was subjected to Mughal rule after the fall of the Sūr dynasty in 1556 A.D. But the Dogra rulers would now and then raise their head in revolt and regain independence. When these Hill principalities rose against Akbar in A.D. 1588-89, under the leadership of Raja Bidhi Chand of Kāngra, Raja Paras Rām of Jammu, Rai Partāp of Jasrotā and Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur joined the fray.[57] The Mughal forces under Jain Khan Kokā suppressed the Kāngra group of states; but Jammu-Bāhu principality, which had probably regained independence, could not be conquered by the Mughal generals. An attack on Jammu territory was finally made by the Mughal forces in about 1594-95 A.D., the year when Sangrām Dev ascended the *gaddi* of Jammu Rāj, and the principality seems to have submitted.

However, during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the

55. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 535.

56. Both these rulers find mention in Persian chronicals in connection with the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.

57. Beveridge, H., *Ma' athir-ul-Umara of Shah Nawaz Khan*, Eng. tr 2 Vols. Calcutta, 1952, p. 1036.

oppression of the Mughal viceroy of the Punjab, Reziā Beg led the Rajas of Jammu, Chamā, Basohli and Guler to raise the standard of revolt, in which the Pathān mercenaries of the Raja of Jammu played a prominent role and the Mughal "invaders" were expelled from the hills.[59]

Unification and Liberation of Jammu Rāj

Sangrām ruled upto 1624. His son, Bhūp Dev, mentioned in the Chambā sanad as "Rāi Bhūpat Jamwāl", ruled upto 1650, when his son Hari Dev, became Raja of Jammu. The latter seems to have won the favour of emperor Aurangzeb, and rose to the rank of a *mansabdār*. He ejected the Bāhuwāl Rajas from their seat at Bāhu fort and succeeded in uniting the two portions of Jammu state. According to the *Gulābnāmā*, he ruled for 36 years and died in Deccan, where he had accompanied emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir,[60] probably in A.D. 1692.

Under the last three or four Rajas, Jammu had become a *'faujdāri'* of Mughals. Though Rajas had started challenging the Mughal authority, yet, Jammu remained a Mughal fief and the Emperor continued appointing *faujdārs* for Jammu, till A.D. 1706.[61]

But this situation did not last long. Under the weak successors of Aurangzeb, Jammu like all other Hill States, aspired for independence and succeeded, under Dhruv Dev (A.D. 1703-33), in driving out the Mughal officials and declare independence. Dhruv Dev soon extended his sway over the surrounding Hill states most of which were ruled by off-shoots of the reigning dynasty of Jammu. The Lakhanpur—Basohli hills upto the Rāvi were included in the Jammu *faujdāri*, and Dhruv Dev succeeded to this territory over which he tightened his grip. The eastern principalities of Sāmbā, Jasrotā, Lakhanpur, Bhadū and Balaor became an integral part of the kingdom. He also tried to extend his frontiers to the east of the Rāvi. He invaded Guler with the help of Bhadū and Basohli, but was not successful. Udai Singh of Guler drove out the Jammu forces with the help of Sibā, Mandi and Kahlūr.

58. Cf. *Akbarnama* in Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 125. "Armaments had been several times send under different amirs of distinction to effect the subjugation of Jammu, Ramgarh and other places, but this difficult enterprise had never been satisfactorily accomplished".

59. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 1963, p. 94.

60. *Gulab*, p. 25.

61. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 246 and 313; Vol. II, p. 293.

The process of expansion and consolidation of the Jammu Rāj was successfully continued by Ranjit Dev, who succeeded his father, Dhruv Dev. Under this enlightened ruler, who ascended the throne in 1733[62] A.D., the principality of Jammu acquired a fairly stable government. From his accession onwards, Ranjit Dev continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the Punjab and the social and the economic life of Jammu till his death in A.D. 1782. He was perhaps the most notable ruler ever to rule Jammu[63] before Maharaja Gulab Singh. He came to the *gaddi* during the most crucial period of the history of the Punjab and the Dogra Pahāri Hill States. When Mughals and Sikh misls were fighting against each other for the possession of the Punjab and the Afghān power at Kābul had also become claimant to sovereignty over Lahore and Kashmir. Ranjit Dev pursued his imperialistic ambition amidst the confusing scene created by these three claimants to sovereignty over the Punjab and the Hill States. It was in such a political atmosphere that Ranjit Dev was destined to rule.

A year after his accession, in about A.D. 1733, Ranjit Dev started on the path of westward expansion and conquered the country as far as the present Ranjitgarh, where he built a temporary mud fort to mark his boundary to the south-west. Sometimes he even surprised and plundered the town of Sialkot, and over ran the country on both sides of the Chenāb as far as Gujarāt. He even attacked the forts of Kulowāl, Kotly, Mināwar, Bajwāth, and almost put a stop to the communications between Kashmir and Lahore.[64] Such activities of Ranjit Dev and "his three brothers" might have offended the young Mughal governor of Lahore, Zakariyā Khan who unsuccessfully sought to dupe him by sending promises and invitations for a visit to the Lahore Court[65] and on the report of "his disloyal attitude reaching the Emperor's ears" an order for his arrest was probably issued and the governor proceeded personally to carry it out.[66]

The dispossessed Bāhuwāl Chiefs too seem to have been instrumentals in this affair. Taking advantage of Mughal suspicions about Ranjit Dev's political motives, Ugar Dev, the Chief of Bāhuwāl clan poisoned the ears of the Mughal governor of Lahore,[67] and this might

62. Diwan Kirpa Rām makes him succeed to the throne in about 1725. Cf. *Gulāb.*, p. 26.
63. *H.P.H.S.*, p. 29.
64. Symth, G.C., p. 242.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 540.
67. Symth, G.C., p. 243.

have precipitated matters. G. C. Symth[68] relates that closely pressed by his Bāhuwāl breathren, he was induced to visit Lahore, in the hope of having his family feud properly adjusted. But no sooner had he presented himself at the court than he was put in irons and kept as a prisoner in one of the dungeons within the fort of Lahore for twelve years.[69]

The date and period of this internment are not easy to ascertain. According to one authority[70] the period was from 1748 to 1760 A.D. But it is usually believed[71] that Ranjit Dev was released on the payment of a ransom of two lakhs of rupees on the recommendation of Adinā Beg Khan, the Governor of Jalandher and was sent back to Jammu, accompanied by Hakeem Khudābaksh Khan, who, after realising one half of the tribute settled on Ranjit Deo, returned to Lahore.[72] By the time he reached at Lahore, the governor (Zakariyā Khan) was dead, and the money was made over to Adinā Beg Khan, who kept it.[73] As Zakariyā Khan died on 1 July, 1745, this was probably the year in which Ranjit Dev was set at liberty.[74] It is said that at the time of his release Lahore Court invested him with a *Khilat*, and he also received a written acknowledgement of his rank as the Raja of Jammu, and furthermore, was escorted back to his principality by a body of 800 cavalry, charged with the task of re-investing him all his rights and possessions.[75]

Traditions current in the Jammu Hills, as well as the statements of Shahāmat Ali and G. C. Symth show that Ranjit Dev was probably interned in Lahore for the second time, now by the Durrānis during 1748-49. He seems to have resisted Ahmad Shāh Durrāni in whose hands he seems to have fallen and again sent to Lahore, and confined there.[76] But the Durrāni *Wazir* Shāhwali Khan, and the Dogra Raja seem to have reached an understanding, and the latter was shortly after set at liberty. Afterwards we always find Ranjit Dev on the side of the Afghāns who considered him their powerful ally in the Punjab Plains and the Hills.

68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. Shahamat Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
72. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 541.
73. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 540.
74. Gupta, Dr. Hari Ram, *Studies in the Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, 1707-1793, Lahore, 1944, p. 64.
75. Symth, G.C., pp. 245-46.
76. Shahamat Ali *op. cit.*, p. 82.

His reign was conterminous with the weak successors of Aurangzeb under whom the Mughal Empire had started declining. By 1752 the Punjab had passed into the hands of the Durrānis, and the Hill States also came under their suzerainty. But Durrāni control over the eastern Hill States was never more than nominal. Encouraged by the anarchy which prevailed in the plains, all the Chiefs resumed their independence and recovered the tracts of which they had been deprived by the Mughals.[77] In A.D. 1758, Raja Ghammand Chand of Kāngra was appointed by Ahamad Shāh Durrāni to the office of the governor of the Jalandhar Doāb, and of the Hills between Satluj and the Rāvi. The Rajas of Jammu and Chambā seem also to have enjoyed the favour of the Durrāni King, as is shown by *Sanads* and letters still extant in family collections. However, the Kāngra fort was still held by the last of the Mughal officers, Saif Ali Khan, who continued to correspond directly with Delhi.[78] Towards the south, in the Punjab Plains, the Sikh marauding bands were organising themselves into tribo-political units called 'Misls'. Ranjit Dev seems to have taken full advantage of this fluid political situation to safeguard his own interests.

Geographical Extension of Jammu Kingdom under Ranjit Dev

Later, in 1779, after the downfall of the Durrāni Empire in the Punjab, Ranjit Dev tried to conquer Kashmir Valley for himself but he had little success in that endeavour.[79] Taking full advantage of the political instability prevailing in the Punjab, Ranjit Dev asserted his independence and also extended his supremacy over the other Hill States between the Rāvi and the Chenāb. He subdued and annexed most of the petty hill states, notably those of Kashtwār, Bhadarwā, Chaneni, Bhadū, Basohli, Mānkot, Bandrāltā, Marmati and Khashāl, Rājauri, Bhimber, Khari-Khariālli and Nūrpur, and even subjugated Punch and Mārwāh which, however, seem not to have become a part of his kingdom.[80] In addition, he held under his supremacy many territories in the plains towards which the Dogra

77. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 301.

78. *H.P.H.S.* Vol. I, p. 79; Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of Sikhs* (1739-99), Vol. III, Lahore, 1944, p. 26.

79. Bamzai, Prithvi Nath Kaul, *A Hist of Kashmir*, pp. 402-403.

80. Hutchison & Vogal : *H.P.H.S*, p. 542, K.M. Panikkar : *The Founding of Kashmir State*, p. 10; W.B. Cunningham : *Dogras*, p. 15; *Chamba Gazett.* p. 96-99; for dull details of Ranjit Dev, conquests see, *Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, Chapter Four.

Kingdom extended upto the outskirts of Gujarāt and Sialkot and encampassed Zafarwāl, Shakargarh and Pathānkot in the south and east.

In short, the boundary of Dogra Kingdom under Ranjit Dev stretched across the northern parts of the present Gujarāt, Siālkot and Gurdāspur Districts. He held sway over the country lying north of a line drawn from Dinga in the Chaj Doab to the river Chenāb at Kulowal and from Roras to Sankhatrā in Sialkot District, even as far as Mandi Khel in Shakargarh *pargana*.[81] Towards the north it extended to the Banihāl pass through which he sent his armies across to Kashmir Valley, twice in support of the Durrāni ruler, and for the third time in order to conquer the valley for himself. To the west across the Chenāb river, Punch was probably beyond the limits of his sway. But Rājauri, Mirpur, Chumak and Riāsi were subject to him. Ranjit Dev was therefore the first modern Dogra ruler who almost rounded off the limits of the Dogra territory of Jammu State. Later on, some part of it on the plains was lost to the States.

He successfully defended his southern border against the plundering raids of the neighbouring Sikh Misls of the Kanhiyās, Bhangis, and Sukarchakiās, though he met a few reverses now and then. Towards the south-east, of course, he lost some villages to the Kanhiyās in the Shakargarh *parganā*. In Chambā, which was under his tutelage, he had to endure defeats, its ruler, with the help of Rāmgariā Sardārs, drove out Jammu army after it had been in possession of the capital for three months in A.D. 1775.[82]

His authority was also jeopardised by the revolt of his elder son, Brijrāj Dev, at about the same time. The heir-apparent suspected infringement of his right to succeed and sought the interference of his protege, Charat Singh the Sukerchakiā chief and his associates the Kanheyās. The confederates marched towards Jammu in 1774 at the head of a considerable force.[83] Ranjit Dev met them with contingents from Chambā, Basohli, Nūrpur and Bashahr,[84] near the villages of Dāsohārā and Ūdho Chak in the *parganā* of Zafarwāl on the bank of the Basantar river,[85] in the winter of 1774. By show of superior strength Ranjit Dev compelled them to disperse without a

81. *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, p. 17.
82. Latif, S M. *History of the Punjab*, p. 339.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.* p. 340.
85. Gian Singh, *Raj Khalsa*, p. 54.

fight, leaving the issue of succession to be resolved between the father and son.[86] Thus Ranjit Dev restored the prestige of his house and maintained Jammu's premiere position among hill states, earning for its the maxim *baiyān wich Jammu Sardār Hai*—Among the twenty-two Jammu is the leader.[87]

Jammu, 'The Abode of Safety' (Dārul-Amān)

During his long reign Ranjit Dev not only expanded Jammu kingdom to its natural boundaries, but also gave it an orderly administration and appreciable stability which made it famous in northern India for its peace and prosperity.[88]

George Forster, who visited Jammu in A.D. 1783, a year after Ranjit Dev's death, stands testimony to the lofty ideals, impartiality, religious toleration, wise administration and the paternal character of the ruler inspired by ethical values. He observed towards his Muslim subjects a disinterested and an honorable conduct. "But the Chief of Jumbo, "writes Forster, "went farther than the forebearance of injuries; he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Mogulpur; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the colony; a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous and conferring the more honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India."[89]

The town of Jammu prospered immensely during his reign. The confusion and disorder on the plains diverted trade to the Jammu hills. It is said that most of the men of wealth settled in Jammu so that over an area of a mile and a three-quarters a lovely market and well equipped bazar grew up with a fresh population and an inexplicable splendour.[90] J.D. Cunningham remarks : "the repeated Afghan invasions, and the insurrections of the Sikhs, had driven the transit trade of the plains to the circuit but safe route of the hills; and the character of the Rajput chief Ranjit Dev, was such as gave confidence to traders, and induced them to flock to his capital for pro-

86. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. III, p. 35; Chhabra, G.S., *Advance History of the Punjab*, p. 474.

87. *Jour. Pb. Hist. Society*, Vol. VIII, p. 126.

88. Gupta, H.R., *Studies in the Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, p. 142.

89. Forster, George, *A Journey*, p. 283.

90. *Gulābnāmā*, p. 73.

tection."[91] Many wealthy merchants had sought asylum or established branch firms at Jammu for safety and security. A dispatch received by the Governor-General at Calcutta on the 19th April, 1780, states; "The said Raja is distinguished for courage and valour and is so just and kind to his ryots that the inhabitants of the Punjab and the Doab (Gangetic) have since the time of Nadir Shah's invasions, always found a safe refuge in his country from the tyranny of unscrupulous adventurers. The writer knows of no people from attack to Delhi who live more free from care and free from fear than those of Jammu."[92]

It is interesting to note that refugees from all over Punjab and Delhi, and political sufferers, chiefs and princes sought shelter in Jammu under Ranjit Dev's care. Muin-ul-Mulk, the governor of Lahore, Sardār Charat Singh Sukarchakiā and several other chiefs used to send their families and property to the care of Ranjit Dev during the period of Durrāni invasions. Malikā Zamāni, queen of Emperor Ahmad Shāh, took shelter with Ranjit Dev with wealth worth crores of rupees. Jammu thus became famous as a safe refuge for rulers as well as commoners and Ranjit Dev deservedly used the legend of '*Dārul-Amān-i-Jammu*'—Jammu the abode of peace—on his coins.[93] He was also a patron of spiritual thinkers, poets and artistics. Several Sūfi saints like Shāh Sūfi and Khori Shāh made Jammu their above. Among poets and Sanskrit scholars Dev Datt or Kavi Ditto, considered the Ādi Kavi of Dogri, was his court poet and priest. Pahāri painting evolved into a distinct Jammu school under his patronage. A certain Nain Sukh and his four sons were representatives of this school, and they prepared many paintings of Ranjit Dev's younger brother, Raja Balwant Singh, which now adorn art gallaries of Lahore and British museums.

Ranjit Dev's Successors and the Sikh Shadow over Jammu territories 1781 to 1815 A.D.

After Maharaja Ranjit Dev's death in the beginning of April, 1782, the Jammu Rāj passed over to his eldest son Brijrāj Dev who was a youth full of initiative and military talent. He had commanded his father's armies and fought many battles in Nūrpur and Kāngra. He ascended the throne on the ninth day of Baisakh, 1889

91. Cunningham, J.D., *History of the Sikhs*, p. 103.
92. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 1836.
93. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. liv, Pt. 1, pp. 63 and 65.

Bikrami (22nd April, 1782 A.D.).[94] He maintained his hold on the constituent principalities of Jammu Rāj and continued to exert his influence over Nūrpur and Chambā, Bhadarwāh and Kashtwār, and these States owed allegiance to Jammu. But the growing Sikh power in the Punjab was not long in engulfing the Dogra State which could not maintain its independent entity after Ranjit Dev. The wealth and prosperity of Jammu was already attracting voracious Sikh chiefs. Taking advantage of the factionalism at Jammu Court the neighbouring *misldārs* started encroaching upon his kingdom. The Bhangis annexed Kariānwālā, a portion of Jammu territory. The allied troops of Kanhiyās and Bhangis then laid seige to strong fort of Dinpur in 1782. Though Brijrāj succeeded in keeping hold of the fortress with the help of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, but the surrounding territory was occupied by Haqiqat Singh Kanhiyā. Six months after this, the Kanhiyās and Sukarchakiās made a common cause to invade and plunder Jammu territory. Sardar Mahān Singh Sukarchakiā, father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, attacked Jammu, plundered the city and the palace and then burnt it. An enormous booty of all kinds was carried away, amounting, according to Khushwaqt Rāi, to two crores of rupees.[95] "The fortune of Sukachakiā Misl," writes Dr. H.R. Gupta "was thus built on the ruins of this flourishing city".[96] As the result of this defeat Brijrāj had to submit before the Sikh authority and agreed to pay an annual tribute of thirty thousand rupees.

The sack of Jammu sapped its power and lowered its prestige. The sovereignty of the house of Dhruv Dev over the surrounding country disappeared. The Jammu Rāj shrank into a tiny principality although the hilly districts of the interior remained in possession of the other members of the family who held them as fiefs.

But most of the subordinate states looked to their own interests. Nūrpur and Chambā became Sikh protectorates. Basohli was occupied in March, 1782 by the surrounding Sikh forces.[97] To check these Sikh encroachments Brijrāj Dev made his last great effort in 1787. He came out to fight the Bhangi chiefs of Sialkot and fell dead in this heroic struggle at a small place called Rumāl. There is a small cenotaph in this village which is pointed out as the place where

94. *Gulabnama*, p. 82.
95. Latif; *Hist. of the Punjab*, pp. 342-43; Hutchison & Vogal; *H.P.H.S.*, p. 547; Dr. H.R. Gupta, *Hist. of the Sikhs*. Vol. III, p. 32.
96. Prinsep, H.T., *Hist. of the Punjab*, Vol. I, p. 245 ff.
97. Gupta, H.R. *Hist. of the Sikhs*, Vol. III, p. 25.

Brijrāj Dev was killed and his forces routed.[98] The whole country added to the State during the reign of Ranjit Dev was thus at once appropriated by the Sikhs.

In the turmoil of war and blood-shed, Sampūran Dev, the one year old son of Brijrāj, was made Raja on the advice of the chiefs of the State which had now been left only a weak carricature of the former grandeur, confined almost to the fortifications of the Jammu city and a few surrounding villages. The Raja being a minor the administration was left in the hands of Miān Motā who was made *Madārul Muhām*, or Minister. During this time Miān Motā was the most influential person. He wisely administered Jammu. He was brave and bold.

From the time of Brijrāj Dev the state had become completely subject to and tributory of the Sikhs, and paid an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000. At the same time it would appear that the Durrānis also claimed a shadowy supremacy over the hill states, and in January, 1797 Shāh Zamān of Kābul issued a rescript to Raja Jit Singh of Chambā enjoining upon him "to perform the services of the *Diwāni* in conjunction with Sampūran Dev of Jammu.[99]

The boy Raja Sampūran Dev died at an early age of eleven, in June, 1797, and with him the direct line of Ranjit Dev came to an end. The Jammu courtiers then seated on the *gaddi*, Raja Jit Singh, Son of Brijrāj's younger brother, Miān Dalel Singh. The new Raja was an ailing and incompetent personality so the administration of the country could not improve. The Court became devided into mutually hostile factions headed by Miān Motā and the head-strong Rāni Bandrāli, the queen of Jit Singh. Taking advantage of this confusion resulting from misgovernment and the mutual dessention of the parties, Ranjit Singh decided to annex Jammu to his growing kingdom. He therefore, sent Hukmā Singh Chimni in 1808 with a large force to conquer the Dogrā capital. The people of Jammu put up a strong resistance, and in the battle that ensued the sixteen years old Gulāb Singh exhibited an exceptional martial prowess which later on won him the favour of the Sikh Chief of Lahore. Soon Jammu passed under the control of Ranjit's officials and it was assigned as jagir to Prince Kharak Singh.[100]

98. *Sialkot Dist. Gazet.*, p. 18; *J.P.H.S.*, VII, 1920, p. 129.

99. Voghel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, p. 72, C-46.

100. Charak; *Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, p. 77.

Sikh Supremacy and the Dogra Resistence

History of Jammu territories for the next twelve years is a grim tale of incessant struggle of its people for shaking off the yoke of the Sikh rule. Ranjit Singh tightened his grip on Jammu step by step. In 1812 it was assigned to Prince Kharak Singh. But Raja Jit Singh was kept in office for a few years more. He was probably deposed in A.D. 1816, and Jammu Rāj was annexed to Lahore kingdom of which it became a district under the direct control of Sikh officers. But this direct occupation was much resented by the Jammu people, particularly the Jamwāl and the Sambyāl clans. The people of Jammu and Sāmbā regions rose in revolt as early as 1810. The leaders of revolt were Miān Dido in Jammu hills and Miān Dewān Singh in the Chenāb valley. *Bhayyā* Rām Singh and *Diwān* Bhawani Dass led many expeditions in the Dogra territory but they failed to suppress the rebellion.[101] In 1817 the rising had became general and had spread to the hills west of the Chenāb where Dewān Singh annexed the country to his possessions. The people of Devā Batālā also raised the standard of revolt. Miān Dido's depredations made it impossible for the Sikhs to keep an efficient control even on the Jammu town and its suburbs. Ranjit Singh therefore, sent a considerable force under *Diwān* Bhawāni Dās to conquer Jammu and to suppress the Dogra rebel who was virtually rulling over Jammu at that time. That able general carried on military operations in that area for over a month and expelled Miān Dido from Jammu and brought the town under effective control for some time. He also established a *thānā* at Saidgarh.[102] This event took place in the month of *Bhadon, Samat* 1866, July-August, 1810 A.D.

But the unrest seems to have continued unabated so that Prince Kharak Singh had to be put at the head of a large force had another expeditions was sent against Jammu in the year 1812.[103] *Bhayyā* Rām Singh and Bhawāni Dās led the forces. The expedition met with some success, and the districts of Jammu, Akhnūr and Bhimber were again subdued and entrusted to Prince Kharak Singh.[104] But the affairs at Jammu could not be properly settled and the discontent gathered momentum. The rising had become general and had spread to the hills beyond Jammu and the plains west of the Chenāb river.

101. Gian Singh: *Tarikh-i-Guru Khalsa*, pt. III, p. 96.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Hugel: *Travels*, p. 385.
104. *Ibid.*

The rebel leader Miān Dido was ultimately captured and interned at Jammu but after a few days he made good his escape by dint of his physical prowess. Thus defiance of Ranjit's authority continued, and in the year 1820, Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself moved towards Chibāl and punished the Chibs and Bhaos and burnt Devā Batālā, their chief town.[105] But the Dogra resistance to the Sikh occupation could only be pacified when Ranjit Singh decided to make an end to direct Sikh rule in Dogra territories and handed over Jammu to a Dogra family to which Gulāb Singh belonged.

Reconsolidation of Jammu Raj under Gulāb Singh

The unification of Jammu State as a compact political unit was left to the courage and political genius of Gulāb Singh. When he started his career as a cavalry officer in Sikh service in A.D. 1809, Jammu kingdom had broken up into a score of discordant, small chiefdoms. Bhadarwāh and Kashtwār had regained independence whereas Basohli, Bhadū and Jasrotā had after enjoying a few years of autonomy, fallen under Sikh control. Principalities to the west of the Chenāb, like Rājauri, Bhimber and Punch, had also severed their relations with Jammu Rāj and were waiting to be conquered by Ranjit's officers. Jammu itself had lost not only its independence but also its premiere position as the nucleus of the Dogra State.

Gulāb Singh as a military commander[106] in Ranjit's army rendered meritorious services to his master in the campaigns of Atak fort[107] and Garh-Dhamāla[108] in 1812. He also distinguished himself during Ranjit's first expedition of Kashmir in 1813. For these services the family received jagirs of Kharoti, Bhandiān and Beol, and later, of Lālāh, Chobārāh and Rāmgarh.[109] Soon afterwards Gulāb Singh conquered Riāsi for Ranjit Singh and suppressed the rebellion of *Miān* Diwān Singh and *Miān* Bhup Singh in that quarter in 1815.[110]

In the frontier campaigns of Ranjit Singh between 1815 and 1820 Gulāb Singh played a prominent and noteworthy part.[111] The most

105. M'Gregor, W.L., *Hist. of Punjab*, p. 188.
106. See Charak's article on the '*Entry of Gulab Singh in Sikh Service*' in the vernacular weekly "*Raj-saptah*", Jammu.
107. *Gulābnāmā*, p. 114; Payne. C.H., *A Short Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 95.
108. *Gulābnāmā*, p. 114.
109. *Gulābnāmā*, pp. 116-117: G.C. Symth, *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 254.
110. *Gulābnāmā*, pp. 122-23.
111. Latif, S.M., *Hist. of the Punjab*, p. 421; *Gulab.* p. 157.

important were those of Multān and the Yusufzais during A.D. 1819. The same year a Sikh force was organised against Aghar Khan, the Raja of Rājauri, the command of which was conferred on Gulāb Singh. He amazingly succeeded in over-running the country and capturing him by a bold atratagem.[112]

For these and similar services the principality of Jammu along with Kotli, Bhoti, Chaneni, Sumartā and Bandrāltā, were conferred on the Jamwāl family as a fief by an agreement signed in November, 1820.[113] Kashtwār was also put under Gulāb Singh's supervision. The family also undertook to capture, kill or drive away the rebel leader, *Miān* Dido. The undertaking was honoured soon afterwards and Miān Dido was killed in an expedition undertaken against him by Gulāb Singh personally. Peace and security was soon restored in the lands given to the family in jagirs, and the grateful Sikh monarch exalted Gulāb Singh to the Rāj of these territories with capital at Jammu, and honoured him with the title of 'Raja'. The *Rāj-tilak* was bestowed by Ranjit Singh himself on June 17, 1822.[114] By the same deed the government of Rāmnagar-Bandrāltā was entrusted to the youngest brother of Gulāb Singh, *Miān* Suchet Singh On June 20, 1827, Gulāb Singh's younger brother, Dhiān Singh, was also made Raja and the chiefship (*Rāj-a-riyāsat*) of the country of Bhimber and Chibhāl, including Punch, was granted to him in perpetuity.[115] In 1834, the principality of Jasrotā was granted to Dhiān Singh's eldest son, Raja Hirā Singh.

Thus the scattered units of the former Jammu Kingdom began to be coalesced together and the foundation of the future Jammu & Kashmir State was laid during the third decade of the nineteenth century under the able leadership of Gulāb Singh whose sane and serene diplomacy out-witted even the seasoned British 'politicals' of the Victorian era. With the rise of Gulāb Singh and his two brothers, Dhiān Singh and Suchet Singh, the smaller States between the Rāvi and the Chenāb lost all autonomy and became completely subject to Jammu. Kashtwār and Mānkot were first to fall in 1820. About 1822 Chaneni and Bandrāltā were subverted and annexed. The smaller States around Jammu, viz., Riāsi, Sāmbā and Dalpatpur had been conquered at an early date; whereas Akhnūr was subdued in 1812. Jasrotā became a part of Jammu in 1834, Basohli in 1836 and

112. Panikkar, K.M., *The Founding of Kashmir State*, p. 26.
113. Punjab State Archives, Patiala, *Document No. M/503.*
114. *Ibid, Document No. M/503.*
115. *Ibid, Document No. M/507.*

Bhadū in 1841. Bhuti and Krimchi were subdued in 1836. To the west of the Chenāb, Punch fell in the hands of the Dogra Rajas in 1827. Only Rājaurī succeeded in keeping Gulāb Singh at bay on account of the good will of the sovereigns of Lahore towards them. But in 1846, it ultimately became a part of the territories given to Gulāb Singh by the victorious British Government.

Dhiān Singh, Suchet Singh and Hirā Singh were usually away from their jagirs in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In consequence of this and under a pact between the brothers,[116] Raja Gulāb Singh had the control of all the family possessions, and exercised the chief authority over hill territories from the Rāvi to the Jehlam. He thus came to be considered, after Ranjit Singh, the greatest chief of the Punjab. "His possessions were vast and his power almost equal to that of the ruler of the Punjab".[117] Nominally these conquests were made and held in the name of the Sikh government, but virtually Gulāb Singh was independent.

Having become de facts ruler of all these territories Gulāb Singh now sought to extend his conquests still farther into the northern mountains. Privately he got a sort of 'no objection' to his Ladākh expeditions from the government of the East India Company[118] before embarking on the subjugation of the land of the ancient snows. His general, *Wazir* Zorāwar Singh Kahlūriā, marched into Ladākhi territory through Kishtwār in 1834. He stormed the forts of Sunku and Sūrū in August and conquered the territories of Lang-Kartse and Sod.[119] Although further campaign was delayed due to diplomatic reasons, yet when Zorāwar Singh resumed his expedition, he pushed forward in spite of spirited resistance of the Ladākhis and occupied Leh in April 1835. Taking advantage of the far-flung situation of their country and the rugged, impassable paths, the Ladākhis revolted a number of times and every time *Wazir* Zorāwar Singh visited them with prompt punishment and finally annexed Purig, Zanskār and Ladākh and Balde or Pādar to Gulāb Singh's *rāj* in the spring of 1839.[120] Zorāwar Singh, however, did not stop there. Dur-

116. Punjab State Archives Patiala, *Persian Document No. D/25, dated 16 Poh, S. 1895* (26 January, 1839).

117. Henry, G.A., *Through the Sikh War*, p. 85.

118. Fisher, Rose and Huttenback, *Himalayan Battleground*, op. cit. p. 45.

119. *Arch. Sur. India, New Imperial Series*, Vol. 10, "Basti Ram's Account of the Dogra War", p. 258; Francke, A.M., *A. Hist. of W. Tibet*, p. 141.

120. *Ibid.*

ing the next year he exhibited the andacity of marching into Baltistān, the land of greater hazards, deep canyons and lofty peaks ranging from 25 to 28 thousand feet above the sea level. Unsurmountable natural obstacles were overcome by the general and his Dogrā-Ladākhi army and whole of Baltistān was conquered and occupied in one campaigning season by May, 1840, and a new Raja was installed there as vassal of the Jammu Rāj.[121] Thus was completed the conquest of Ladākh and Baltistān by *Wazir* Zorāwar Singh through a process of conquest and reconquest over a period of about six years, during which a territory larger in extent than the Kashmir valley was added to the Dogrā dominion.[122] The storming of Kharpoche (Skardū), the capital of Baltistan came out to be a great feat of military general ship. "The deed was boldly done of the Dogras", write F. Drew. "It resembled somewhat on a small scale, the capture of Quebec by the English".[123]

But the most daring of General Zorāwar Singh's campaigns, one of the finest in the history of warfare, was the conquest of Nari or Western Tibet, spreading from the eastern frontier of Ladākh to the Mayūm pass towards Lhāssā, a distance of about 500 Kilometres. He marked his entry in Tibet by conquering Rudok (Ruthog) on 5 June, 1841; and marching over world's loftiest plateaus with an average altitude of more than 16,000 feet above sea level, he finalised the campaign by occupying the military posts and districts of Gartok, Misrā, Dābā, Tsaparang, Kardung, Taklākot and Kailāsa-Mānsarovara, upto the western slopes of the Maryūm range within four months, by Sept. 1841. But the occupation of Tibetan territory proved a short-lived affair as Gulāb Singh found no opportunity to organise and strengthen his hold on it. British interference in the affair also discouraged him from making any long-range plans regarding conquest of Tibetan territories. In spite of the ultimate failure of his Tibetan policy, the conquest remains a monument of his forward policy in trans-Himalayan central Asian territories.[124]

After initial successes General Zorāwar Singh was ultimately defeated and killed by the Tibetan army near Talākot, some 300 kilometers south-east of Leh, and his army was destroyed in Decem-

121. "The transfer of the Govt. of Iskardu to Muhammad Shah, the Gyalpo's exciled son was reported by G.R. Clerk to T.H. Maddock on May 9, 1840. See *Press Lists*. 149/13.

122. Charak, S.D.S., *Hist. and Culture of Him. States*, Vol. V, p. 129.

123. Drew, Frederic, *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 362.

124. Charak, Sukhdev Singh, "Conflict of Interests in General Zorawar Singh's Tibetan Episode", *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.*, 6th Session, 1971.

ber snows. This happened on 12 December 1841. Consequently the people of Ladākh and Baltistān rose in revolt against the Dogrā occupation, but the rebellion was thoroughly stamped out by Gulāb Singh's new commanders, *Miān* Ratnu and *Diwān* Hari Chand, and both the territories were again brought under heels. The Tibetan armies were defeated and thrown out of Ladākh, and the Lhāsā authorities were compelled to treat for peace and sign an agreement according to which they acknowledge Gulāb Singh's supremacy over Ladākh, and undertook that "as regards the boundary of the country of Ladākh including suburbs, fixed of ancient days, we will at all have no concern and nothing to do".[125] Thus was added to Indian territory a vast portion of mountainous country with its boundaries extended upto Tibet in the east and Yārqad and Kāshgar in the north.

Parting of ways and the formation of Jammu and Kashmir State

Gulāb Singh and his brothers were vassals of the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors had from time to time, conferred upon them special privileges and powers through written documents most of which still exist; and in course of time, at least Gulāb Singh became almost an independent ruler owing nominal allegiance to Lahore. After Ranjit Singh death the affairs of Lahore Kingdom fell into confusion. Raja Dhiān Singh's superior political acumen kept the fast decaying State in some respectable position. He was, however, killed along with Maharaja Sher Singh, by the Sindhānwāliās on 15 Sept. 1843[126] and Lahore State forthwith degenerated into a sanguinary arena of cut-throat competition between rival factions ready to spill each others' blood. Raja Suchet Singh and Raja Hira Singh Dogrā also lost their lives within fifteen months after the fall of Raja Dhiān Singh.[127] Two of Gulāb Singh's sons, Udham Singh[128] and Sohan Singh, had also lost their lives during the anarchy which had followed Ranjit Singh's death. Raja Gulāb Singh, the only surviving member of the Dogrā chiefs, now thirsted for revenge on the Sikh nation which had killed so many of

125. *Gulābnāmā*, p. 264

126. Sohan Lal: *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Vol. IV, Pt. III. pp. 28-9.

127. Suchet Singh was killed in March 27, 1844, and Hirā Singh on Dec. 21, the same year.

128. Udham Singh was killed alongwith Kanwar Nao Nehal Singh by the fall of Deodhi on Nov. 5, 1840; whereas Sohan Singh was killed alongwith Hirā Singh on December 21, 1844.

his kith and kin.[129] He clearly riealised that his interests now lay some where else and that the Sikhs were undependable. He therefore determined to make terms with the British Government and to leave the Sikhs to their fate. The only escape from the oppression of the uncontrolable Sikh soldiery lay in severing all relations with them. As general Avitabile had remarked while resigning from Sikh service ". . . it was impossible for any person to serve a government which had long ceased to enforce order and command respect, or even obedience".[130] The matters came to a head when Sikh armies invaded Gulāb Singh's territories in the beginning of 1845.

Gulāb Singh's pretensions for establishing an independent State of his own were no longer a secret. His rivals at Lahore Court induced Sikh armies to invade his capital with a view of plunder and ravage. Lāl Singh and Shām Singh Attāriwālā were forced to lead troops of invasion. Gulāb Singh's fiefs and farms were confiscated. Jasrotā was occupied by Sikh forces; Sāmbā and Rāmnagar were over-run and plundered, and Akhnūr and Bhimber met the same fate. Sikh armies closed on Jammu from all sides and encamped in the suburbs of Jammu in the plains of Talāb Tillo and Satwāri. Gulāb Singh remained amazingly composed and serene all through this gravest crisis of his career. In the end his superior diplomacy out-witted his rivals and the invading army led him to Lahore to instal him as Prime Minister of Lahore Kingdom.[131] Almost all his jagirs and farms were restored to him. But the estrangement which showed its ugly head could not be healed. The Sikh's had to pay a heavy price for this unwise policy of antagonising their greatest and the most powerful vassal. In the hour of crisis, when the Lahore State was in dire need of his seasoned and influential leadership, he remained aloof counting the bereavements inflicted on him by the Sikhs. The Sikhs were defeated in the first Sikh War in March 1846. Gulab Singh, however, acted as a mediator on the request of the Lahore authorities and helped both the parties to patch up and arrive at an understanding honourable for the vanquished Sikh power. Under the settlement the Sikh Government ceded to the British authorities the tract of land between the Satluj and the Beās, and the tongue of hill territory lying between the Indus and the Rāvi, by the Treaty of Lahore concluded on March 9, 1846. By a separate treaty

129. Pearse: *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 257.

130. 152/10, Clerk to Maddock, July 9, 1841, P.G.R.

131. M'Gregor, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 37; *ORPS*, dated 1.10.1845, Broadfoot to Currie.

signed on March 16, 1846 at Amritsar, the British Governor-General Lord Hardinge acknowledged Gulāb Singh as Maharaja as well as an independent sovereign over Hill territories lying between the Indus and the Rāvi in return for a *nazarānā* and a nominal annual tribute. Thus was created Jammu and Kashmir State which included the territories already in possession of Gulāb Singh to which were added Hazārā, Kashmir and a part of Chambā State. A few months later, Gulāb Singh gave up Hazārā Province to Lahore in exchange for Bhimber and the strip of plain territory lying between Ranbir-singhpurā and Suchetgarh. He also exchanged the Chambā territory lying to the west of the Rāvi with Lakhanpur. The southern boundary was finally demarcated by Captain James Abbott in consultation with *Diwān* Jawālā Sahāi, Minister of Maharaja Gulāb Singh and the representative of the Sikh Government. This was done by the close of 1847, and the Jammu and Kashmir State as it is today, took final shape.

It was this state and the tradition of royalty cannected with it which Maharaja Ranbir Singh inherited.

CHAPTER

2

Advent of a Benevolent Ruler

Section A

Accession

Like a sagacious politician, Maharaja Gulāb Singh had trained his successor properly in the art of state craft. He had seen the fate of the powerful kingdom of Labore in the event of the neglect of proper training to the heir apparent for shouldering the responsibilities of a medieval state. In order to avoid such a situation Gulāb Singh had given full opportunity to Ranbir Singh to act for himself in several military expeditions and administrative problems and to associate and develop acquaintance with British authorities.

Gulāb Singh had married twice. His first wife was from the Rakwāl family. In late age he took second wife from the Katoch Rajput family of Khairā in Pālampur *tahsil*. She, however, had no issue. From the first Rāni he had three sons, *Miān* Udham Singh, *Miān* Sohan Singh and *Miān* Ranbir Singh. Udham Singh was born on 9 October, 1817.[1] Gulāb Singh bestowed special care to train and

1. According to *Gulābnāmā*, Charak, Eng. Tr p. 176, *Miān* Udham Singh born on Wednesday, the 27 Asuj, S. 1874. Kahan Singh Balaoria gives the year 1878 (*Tārikh-i-Rājgān Jammu-w-Kashmir*, p. 180) but probably it is wrong.

educate him in order to chisel him for bigger things. At an early age he was given the jagir of Balwāltā territory where he founded Udhampur town after his own name and mostly resided there in the fort palace which he had raised there for himself. But Udham Singh was killed on 5 November, 1840,[2] along with prince Nao Nihāl Singh as a result of the fall of a parapet of an old gateway (*deodhi*) *Miān* Sohan Singh was also a promising youth. He was married in Pathāniā family of Rey in Kāngra district. He was also killed at Lahore alongwith his cousin, Raja Hirā Singh, the Prime Minister of the Sikh state of Lahore, on December, 1844 as a victim of anti-Dogrā revolution at Lahore.

After 1844, therefore, Ranbir Singh was the only surviving fourteen year old son of Gulāb Singh. He was born in the month of *Sāwan*, S. 1887,[3] (corresponding to August, 1830) at Rāmgarh, the original Jagir of Gulāb Singh, where his family mostly resided during those decades. In early life he was called by the pet name of *Miān* Feena Singh. Gulāb Singh's youngest brother, Raja Suchet had married seven Rānis but he did not get any child. Suchet Singh had, therefore, adopted Ranbir Singh as his son and successor. Ranbir Singh himself was the third son of Gulāb Singh, and therefore had no hope of succeeding his father in his office, and his only hope lay in inheriting his uncle's estates and property. But fate had destined something else for him.

He saw the day under very favourable circumstances when the star of the family fortune was on the ascendence. All the three elder members of the family, including his father, had been made Rajas, Dhiān Singh being the last to receive the title in 1827. The family had become supreme in the whole of the Dogrā land to the both sides of the Chenāb, from Punch to Sāmbā; Jasrotā was yet to be conferred

2. 22nd. Katak, S. 1897, according to Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawārikh*, Vol. IV. Pt. III, p. 67, Also *150/34, Clerk to Torrens*, Nov. 6, 1840-P.G.R.

3. Diwan Kirpa Ram has not given Ranbir Singh's date of birth. G.L. Kaul (six *Millenium Review of Kashmir*, p. 101) gives Samvat 1887-88 (A.D. 1830-31), whereas P.N. Bamzai has A.D. 1829 (*Hist of Kashmir*, p. 654). G.M.D. Sufi (Kashir, Vol. II, p. 789) gives his year of birth as 1829, and mentions Rāmnagar as his place of birth, which is quite unacceptable. Some of Sufi's observations on Dogrā history are simply erroneous. As for instance he writes, "His birth in 1829, at Rāmnagar was considered lucky for Gulāb Singh, as soon afterwards, Maharaja Ranjit Singh conferred Jammu in jagir on Gulāb Singh's family" (*Ibid*). This obviously refers to the event which took place, not on the family. It was given as *Rāj* to Raja Suchet Singh. Sūfi seems to confuse Rāmnagar with Rāmgarh. The latter place was given in jagir to the whole family in 1815). (See Charak, *Gulābnāmā*, p. 73) and most of the members of the family used to reside there.

on Ranbir Singh's cousin, Raja Hirā Singh, in 1835. Ranbir Singh's uncle, Raja Dhiān Singh, had become the Prime Minister of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore; his second uncle, Raja Suchet Singh, was an influential and accomplished courtier of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and at the same time a popular military leader and commander. Above all, Ranbir Singh's father was the most powerful grandee of the Lahore state, second to none except the Sikh sovereign himself.

Thus Ranbir Singh was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, but he was destined to share the gravest misfortunes of his father during the year 1845 when Jammu was invaded by Sikh armies of Lahore with a view to annex the whole Dogrā *Rāj*, and to destroy the 'Ulyssus of Jammu Hills' Gulāb Singh, Ranbir Singh defended Rāmnagar and Utter Behani which he had inherited from his uncle Raja Suchet Singh, with the help of *Wazir* Ratnū and Colonel Bijā Singh till he was ordered by Gulāb Singh to withdraw to Jammu. Under a year's shadow of misfortune the very young heir-apparent to the State-yet-in-the-making had to undergo great privations before the dawn of sunny morn of fortune smiled on him in March, 1846. Ranbir Singh had thus passed his early youth in the company of his father and took part in several of his campaigns. "This together with the thorough training given to him by his father in manly art made Ranbir Singh a professional soldier and an efficient commander."[4] He led the state forces in favour of the British during the Mutiny and earned the gratitude of the Government. Thus, at twenty-eight, when Maharaja Gulāb Singh died Ranbir Singh "was sufficiently experienced to take upon himself the arduous duties of the ruler of the largest princely state of India.[5] He had imbibed in himself a part of the nature of his uncle Suchet Singh, who being issueless, had adopted him. Raja Suchet Singh was a handsome, accomplished courtier of the Lahore Court, as well as a popular military commander. It was probably under the influence of his good-father that young Ranbir Singh developed in himself his love for the cultural aspect of life.

A great part of the life of the members of their family passed in military expeditions and armed conflicts, in which all others except the father and the son, fell a victim to the sword. It was, therefore, natural for Ranbir to grow into a war-like Rajput youth and receive

4. Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir*, p. 654.
5. *Ibid.*

necessary training in that field along with his elder brothers[6] who, of course, predeceased him. But after becoming rulers of the powerful state of Jammu and Kashmir, fresh avenues of training of the young Prince were opened ajar, behests in which sphere equipped him with sharp memory, quick grasp of facts, sterling moral character and polished manners.[7] Nothing much on record has been found concerning his literary education and training of the intellect, but his amazing endeavours in the field of art, literature and education he made after becoming Maharaja, stand infallible testimony to his high attainments as a scholar. The assertion of the author of *Kashir*[8] that his education was old-fashioned and that he could read only *Dogri*, stands no test of validity. Contrary to this is the statement of the *Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India* that "the Maharaja was a great scholar of Persian".[9] Prof. A.Q. Sarvari opined that Persian letters, entitled *Inshā-i-Ranbir* preserved in the Research Library,[10] written by Maulvi Ghulām Ghouse, were evidently meant for Maharaja Ranbir Singh and that the Maulvi appears to have been his Persian teacher.[11] It is certain that *Bakshi* Dayā Rām incharge education Department, Jammu was appointed "as tutor to *Miān* Ranbir Singh *Ji*" as early as 1854[12] by an *irshād*. The same *irshād* takes note of the proposed employment of one European by *Miān* Ranbir Singh, and names three Europeans already employed by the *Miān*, including Doctor Martin and Mr. Rally. These gentlemen probably educated the Prince in various affairs and subjects, including European etiquette the knowledge of which was considered indispensable for a ruler who had to deal with European officers of the East India Company so often. Ranbir knew Sanskrit[13] also, and a reference occurs to his working

6. The type of training which, Gulāb Singh imparted to his sons becomes evident from Alexander Gardner's account of *Miān* Udham Singh's exploits: "During the Yusufzai campaign *Miān* Udham Singh, Raja Gulāb Singh's eldest son, almost daily achieved such prodigies of valour as to call forth the unstinted admiration and applause and often the amazement of the whole contingent. If Raja Suchet Singh, his uncle, was too reckless, dashing, flashy and fiery before the enemy, Udham Singh also was rash and impetuous to a dangerous degree". Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 194.

7. Bamzai, P.N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 654.

8. *Sufi, G.M.D.*, Kashir, New Delhi, 1974, Vol. II, p. 789.

9. *The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India.*

10. Sarvari, A.Q., "Maharaja Ranbir Singh and his Oriental Translation Bureau," *J & K Univ. Review*, Vol. III, No, 3, 1966, p. 39.

11. M.S. No. 161, RDL(S).

12 *File No. 136 of S. 1911* (April 1854).

13. *The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India.*

knowledge of Pushtu in which language he used to converse with his personal Afghān body-guards.[14] His capacity and inquisitiveness for learning languages and other knowledge was certainly remarkable. The well known European scholar of Sanskrit Dr. Buhler, who visited Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts and had the occasion of accompanying the Maharaja on a round of the Sanskrit *Pāthashālā* in the Raghunāth temple, to examine the students studying there, was very much impressed by his vast knowledge of various subjects. The astonished European scholar concludes.

"The active manner in which he took part in the examination, showed that he was well acquainted with the subjects taught".[15]

According to Buhler the subjects taught included "poetry, poetics, grammar, philosophy, mathematics, algebra and euclid,"[16] to which Gwasha Lal Kaul adds *Vedas* and *Niyāyas*. All these observations amply prove that the Prince had in his youth plucked skirt-fuls from the orchards of knowledge to which he continued adding incessantly by seeking the company of scholars whole of his life. This accounts for his concern for spread of literacy and higher learning and for disseminating all type of knowledge through the length and breadth of his kingdom.

Maharaja Gulāb Singh was thoroughly inured to the art of diplomacy and statecraft through his long association with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the British diplomats. He had thoroughly realised the importance of these, and so sought to give appropriate training to the heir-apparent in diplomatic relations with the British by often deputing him to meet the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab and other eminent British officers. On the occasion of signing the Treaty of Amritsar Gulāb Singh especially sent for him from Jammu to attend the function and he deputed him to Gobindgarh Fort to welcome the Governor-General.[17]

In 1847, when Ranbir Singh was hardly seventeen he was assigned an important task. On establishing full possession of Jammu and Kashmir with British aid Maharaja Gulāb Singh availed the first opportunity to send *Miān* Ranbir Singh to Simlā to wait upon the British Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge, probably to offer

14. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, New Delhi, 1974, Vol. II, p. 789.
15. Dr. Buhler's Report, Vide P.N.K. Bamzai's, *Hist of Kashmir*, p. 615.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Chark, S.D.S , *Diwan Kirpa Ram's Gulabnama*, Eng. Tr., pp. 333-34.

him thanks for all the favours he had shown towards them and to pay the first tribute. *Miān's mahūrat* for departure for Simlā was fixed on Sunday, the 12th September, 1847.[18] A letter had been received by the British agent P. Sandys Melvill on 12th September that *Miān's* meeting with the Governor-General would not take place before the middle of October and that too in plains. But it was the *Miān's* wish that the meeting should be allowed in Simlā on 1st October, as per previous plan. Finally, a letter was received from Simlā on the way on 23rd that governor-general would receive the *Miān* directly, provided he arrived within six days from the present time. Thus *Miān* Ranbir Singh and his escort, P. Sandys Melvill, reached Simlā by forced marches on 29th September, and was received thereby Colonel Lawrence, Grant C.B. and Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake, and led him to the camp prepared for him next to that of colonel Lawrence. According to *Dewān* Jawālā Sahāi, the Prime Minister of the State, the escort which accompanied *Miān* Ranbir Singh, included 176 men of different cadres as under: 35 *Sowārs*, 1 Adjutant, 3 *Subedārs*, 3 *Havildārs*, 3 *Nāiks*, 3 Buglars and Drummers, 78 soldiers (foot) and 56 orderlies.[19]

On the appointed day of 1st October, P. Sandys Melvill and Lieutenant Edwardes met the *Miān* and conducted him to the *Durbār* at Governor-General's, which had been appointed for 3 O'Clock P.M. A company of Rifles lined the road within the gates leading upto the Government house, a salute of 13 guns being fired in honour of the event. Mr. Secretary Elliot presented the *Miān* to the Governor-General. The first annual tribute according to the terms of treaty of 16 March, 1846, consisting of one horse, twelve perfect shall goats of approved breed, (6 male and 6 female) and three pairs of Kashmir Shawls,[20] were first produced by the *Miān*. Some valueable presents were given to him in return. There was usual exchange of diplomatic phrases and friendly words, and *Miān* submissively offered words of thanks on his own behalf and that of his father and the ceremony was over.

The same honours were bestowed on the *Miān* on his departure as on his arriving. After a few days' stay at Simlā, *Miān* Ranbir Singh

18. *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. V, Diary of P. Sandys Melvill, Extra Assistant Resident (at Lahore), p. 225.

19. *Ibid.* pp. 235-250. According to *Diwān* Kirpā Rām, *Diwan* Jawālā Sahāi and *Wazir* Zorawārū also accompanied Ranbir Singh, alongwith three thousand troops. Cf. *Gulābnāmā*, p. 362. The troops, however, seem to have been sent back from some distance.

20. *Treaty of Amritsar*, 16 March, 1846, Article 10.

left the place for his home on 4th October. Colonel Lawrence and other British officers accompanied him to see him off at Boileanguage.[21]

When in 1850 Sir Henry Lawrence came to Kashmir, Ranbir was deputed to receive the viceregal party at Anantnag.

Like his father, Ranbir Singh was also fond of cultivating amicable relations with the British authorities. But at the same time he had a wider concept of diplomacy having even extra territorial scope, which, however, got stifled at the hands of his superiors, the British power in India. Anyhow, his earlier education and training in diplomacy enabled him to set at naught the British demands for constitutional concessions which went against the letter of treaties and engugements.

Like a sagacious, far-sighted ruler Gulāb Singh desired to see his son hold successful charge of his patrimony in his own life time. It was no less a self-negation on his part to part with all royal powers, and his is one of the rarest instances in this part of the world, that he apointed Ranbir Singh to the throne of Jammu and Kashmir State in 1856 and himself lived as subject citizen for the last year of his life.

There were other considerations also besides his desire to see Ranbir entrenched on the throne with full powers. Maharaja Gulāb Singh suffered from dropsy for a long time, and now, after a career of strenuous struggle for several decades his health was failing. He therefore, decided to entrust the administration to Ranbir Singh, and to turn completely away from the affairs of this world.[22] Further he had to safeguard the position of his son against the machinations of his possible rivals. Ranbir Singh's mother was a Rakwāl lady from whom Gulāb Singh had three sons, two of whom had, as stated above, predeceased their father. But Gulāb Singh had another son, named *Miān* Hatthu, from a concubine, who might create trouble. Raja Dhiān Singh, younger brother of Gulāb Singh, had three sons. The eldest Raja Hirā Singh, had been killed in the revolution of 21 December, 1844 at Lahore. The other two, *Miān* Jawāhir Singh and *Miān* Moti Singh, were still alive. They had claimed equal share in Jammu and Kashmir State in 1847. Their claims were, however, rejected by the court of Mr. Currie, the British Resident at Lahore, and Gulāb

21. *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. V, Diary of P. Sandys Melvill, pp. 226-27.

22. Panikkar, K.M., *Founding of the Kashmir State*, p. 149; Kahan Singh Balauria, *Tārikh-i-Rājgān-i-Jammu and Kashmir*, 1915, p. 176.

Singh had given them Punch in Jagir. Even this good turn did not remove the thorn of enmity and *Miān* Jawāhir Singh was not reconciled to the position of a subordinate *jāgirdār* of Punch to which he had been relegated by the British officer.[23] Both the brothers continued to conspire against their kinsman. He had claimed that "the major part of the hill territories in reality belonged to his father and his uncle Raja Suchet Singh as well as to his elder brother, Raja Hirā Singh. He added that his greedy uncle has usurped these possessions illegally and his plea was that being a lawful heir of his father, uncle and brother, he was entitled to recover their property from this usurper—the Maharaja."[24] Thus *Miān* Jawāhir Singh and *Miān* Moti Singh had preferred their claim on the territories of Chibhāl and Punch, Jasrotā and the former *jagirs* of Raja Suchet Singh.[25] The ill will so created was not pacified in spite of judicial adjudication of the affair on May 12, 18 8, in favour of the *Miāns*.[26] The ruling family thus remained distracted for sometime before rivals were fully vanquished and destroyed. Even as late as February, 1855, Maharaja Gulāb Singh had to refer to the evil intentions of the officials of Raja Jawāhir Singh and their designs for armed conflicts and capture of Bhārakh territory, and to alert Ranbir Singh against these mischievous designs.[27] The shrewd Gulāb Singh, therefore, visualised the extent of mischief which could be done by Raja Jawāhir Singh, and in order to anticipate him effectively, took the wise decision to install Ranbir Singh on the throne as his successor. The Treaty of Amritsar had already secured the right of rulership to him and for "the heirs male of his body".[28] He therefore opened communications on the subject with Sir John Lawrence, the Governor of the Punjab, through Jawālā Sahāi, his Prime Minister, expressing his desire in a *kharitā* (officials letter), addressed to him during January, 1856 which runs as under:

His exalted supporter and welwisher.

23. Charak, S.D.S. *Gulābnāmā*, Eng. Trans, 1977, pp. 239-40.
24. Kaul, Saligram, *Biography of Maharaja Gulāb Singh*, p. 225.
25. Charak S.D.S. *Gulābnāmā*, Eng. Trans., New Delhi, 1977, p. 348.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 348-355.
27. *File No. 136 of S. 1911*, Old Persian Records, SAR(J).
Cf. File Nos. 93-111 of 1855 ann 173-AA-Persian Records, SAR(J).
28. However, it is too shrewd to conclude that "this tug of war between the two factions of the same family continued right upto 1947, when the people of Poonch rose against Maharaja Hari Singh"—Cf. Hussain, F.M., *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, Delhi, 1974, p. 36. The risings in that part of Jammu and Kashmir State were, no doubt, a part of the India-wide communal riots of 1946-47.

After expressing his longing for an auspicious meeting, this friend conveys the intention to perform the enthroning ceremony to his eldest son *Miān* Ranbir Singh. *Diwān* Jawālā Sahāi had formely been accredited to request your honour to convey this information to the Governor-General, and his Lordship had been pleased to favour me with the permission to perform the installation ceremony as per custom and usage. Accordingly, the auspicious occasion has been fixed during the last week of *Māgh, Samvat* 1912.

Accordingly the 8th *Phāgun, S.* 1912 (Feb. 20, 1856) was fixed as the auspicious day for the installation of Ranbir Singh and invitations were extended to prominent citizens, *Darbāris*, Rajput grandees and British officers. Maharaja Gulāb Singh annointed the young prince with his own hands in the Thakurdwara and made a saffron tilak on his forehead. From the *Thākurdwārā* the royal procession moved to the old Mandi where the prince was formally seated on the royal throne. On Maharaja Gulāb Singh's request Mr. Angels and other British military officers from the Sialkot cantonment and his Rajput relatives also put saffron mark on the forehead of the new Maharaja.[29]

The Maharaja had informed the Resident at Lahore, of the date of installation, and the British Government put their seal of approval of the *Rājtilak* by presenting costly gifts to the new Maharaja and by sending a *Khilat* to him through John Nocholson.[30] Kirpā Rām was appointed the *Diwān* or Secretary to the new Maharaja and he submitted "prudent counsels",[31] to the young chief, which were included in the *pattā* granted in favour of Ranbir Singh, and conferring on him the title of 'Maharaja'.[32]

The directions so contained in the *pattā*, to be acted upon by the new Maharaja, were as under:

"In the name of *Sri Rāmji*

My dear obedient son Maharaja Ranbir Singh,

Let it be known to you that on this auspicious day of granting you the insignia of royalty the following code of conduct and advice is given to you and you must fully understand it and act upon it. Firstly, you must purify your heart and mind; follow truly your doctine and spend your time in regular prayers.

29. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulābnāmā, op. cit.*, pp. 397-98.
30. *Maharaja Gulab Singh to Lt. Governor of the Punjab, Kharita,* dated 21 het, Samvat 1912 (5 April, 1856), Persian Records, SAR(J).
31. Charak S.D.S., *Gulābnāmā*, op. cit., p. 399.
32. *File No. 147*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

Secondly, you must remember that this state is simply a gift from the British Government, i.e., Her Exalted Highness, the Queen of England, who has bestowed it on us through the good offices of Lord Hardinge, Governor-General, Fredric Currie, and Col. Lawrence, in independent possession to my lineage perpetually. Hence it is your foremost duty to remain faithful to them from heart and soul.

Thirdly, you must look to the welfare of all and see that none is subjected to injustice by anyone.

Fourthly, you must take every measure to maintain and equip your armies. Fifthly, you must see that you get continuous report of happenings on your borders, so that vigilance is adopted.

Sixthly, you must be pure in soul, and shun the society of the wicked.

Seventhly, you must serve the British, cooperate with them and show obedience and courtesy by making presents to them.

Written on 8th *Phāgan*, 1912 on the auspicious day of marking the forehead with colour of royalty and installation ceremony of heir apparant."[33]

On this occasion the British Government presented him a *Khilat* through John Nicholson[34] as a token of their recognition of his accession to the throne. He also recciced a Japanese sword from G.A.L. Montagomery through Mr. Douglas Forsyth,[35] and a pistal from Col. Watson of the Jhelum cantonment, who attended the ceremoney.[36] Tributes (*nazarānā*) were presented to the new Maharaja by all the chiefs, nobles, generals and courtiers. A large number of *jāgirdars* and kinsmen of the royal clan were also present and hence the ceremony was conducted with great pomp and show. Maharaja Ranbir Singh assumed power on 20 Feb. 1856, and Gulāb Singh retired to Srinagar after a few months, from where he continued to guide the new Maharaja till his death on 2 August, 1857 at the age of sixty-five years.

Section B

The Initial Flutters

The year following Ranbir Singh's accession to the *gaddi* was

33. This Trans. of the *pattā* has been reproduced from F.M. Hussain's British Policy Towards Kashmir, 1974, p. 37. For my translation of the advice, refer to *Gulābnāmā*, Eng. Trans. pp. 399-400.
34. Hussain, F.M, *British Policy Towards Kashmir, op. cit.*, p. 37.
35. *Files Nos. 48 and 147*, Persian Records, SAR (J).
36. *Ibid.*, Cf. *File No. 147*, SAR (J).

the most turbulent year in the history of India, but a comparatively peaceful period in the history of the state, and Maharaja Ranbir Singh utilised this occasion for an almost all round improvement in the administration of the State.

After transferring all power to the new Maharaja Gulāb Singh left for Kashmir and accepted to look after the administration of the valley as its governor. He was, however, an ailing person now. Maharaja Ranbir Singh held his *darbārs* at Jammu and efficiently ran the government of the State with the help of his seasoned Prime Minister, Jawālā Sahāi, and able Secretary, *Diwān* Kirpā Rām, son of the latter. The young Maharaja was twentysix years of age and was inspired by youthful ambitions for the uplift of the State and the wellbeing of his people, some of which he achieved later according to his means and power. During the beginning of 1857, about 106 men of General Zorāwar Singh's army imprisoned and taken to Lhāsā in December, 1841, were recovered through the good offices of the British Resident in Napāl.[37] Out of these 56 opted to return to Jammu. These were received honourably at Jammu and were given *jagirs* by the Maharaja.[38]

During the spring of 1857, Gulāb Singh's health deteriorated and soon it became worse so that Ranbir Singh rushed to Srinagar to attend on his dying father. It was during these days that "the first shorts of the so called Mutiny were fired on the 10th May, 1957".[39] Sporadic acts of violence had taken place in different parts of the country. "But when the sepoys of Meerut murdered their white officers on the 10th May, 1857 and proceeded to Delhi to proclaim Bahadur Shah emperor of Hindustan[40], "the great rebellion commenced. Delhi, the citadel of British power in India was besieged by the rebels and it fell. Sir John Lawrence of the Governor of the Punjab received the information on 11 May, 1857, and he took immediate measures to strike at all the routes of disaffection. After strengthening the defence of the Punjab he conveyed the news to his allies and asked for help. He was particularly concerned over

37. *Lt. Governor, Punjab to the Maharaja, File No. 139, for the years 1854-56*, p. 59—Old Persian Records, SAR (J). Out of the list of 106 names contained in the letter, eleven were Muslims from Kashmir.

38. One of the War prisoners was Uttam Padiāl whose name also exists in the list of those who returned to Jammu. His descendants possess a copper medal of the king of Nepāl in the form of certificate of repatriation. The family also possesses the *pattās* of *jāgir* which was given to Uttam Padiāl by the Maharaja.

39. Sen, S. N., *Eighteen fifty-seven*, p. VI.

40. Khushwant Singh, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, vol. II, p. 100.

Gulāb Singh's attitude whose duplicity and elusive diplomacy he had witnessed during the second Sikh War. He was not slow to realise that their position in the Punjab was to a great extent, at the Maharaja's mercy[41] and very much feared that in case Gulāb Singh turned against the British "his experience, his prestige, his resources would have produced a great reaction against them".[42] In order to secure the help of Maharaja Gulāb Singh he sent for *Diwān* Jawālā Sahāi who could be depended on at this juncture because "the *Dewān* was a subject of the British Government, and his family for the most part lived in British territory. I had known him since 1846, and had reason to believe that he was well effected to the British Government, and had considerable confidence in him myself".[43]

Jawālā Sahāi met Lawrence at Rāwalpindi and Lawrence took him into confidence, apprised him of the situation and suggested that the *Dewān* should move the Maharaja to send a selected body of hill-men to help in the seige of Delhi. Lawrence records : "The *Dewān* first hesitated, but on my explaining what an advantage it would prove to the Maharaja to come forward in such a crisis, provided His Highness really meant to act up to his engagements, the *Dewān* entered into my view, and agreed to proceed to Jammu and ascertain the state of affairs; to communicate with the Maharaja, should things appear propitious; and in short, to arrange, in that case, for the March of the troops".[44]

A copy of the letter written to Maharaja Gulāb Singh by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab dated 27 May 1857, expresses appreciation of the friendship of the Maharaja and his help to the British on previous occasions and appealed to him to stand with the British in the hour of supreme need.[45] An anonymous writer of a manuscript *History of Jammu* also refers to a letter from "Lord Governor General Lawrence" to Maharaja Gulāb Singh appealing to him to help. In reponse to these appeals the Maharaja, who was virtually on his death bed, offered all the resources of his State to the

41. *Secret Consultations, 8th December, 1857, Nos. 413-14, Pol. A., August, 1860, No. 104.* N A I. (New Delhi).

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. The MS copy is in the private collection of Dr. Karan Singh, and was consulted by Prof. A. Q. Sarvari of the Kashmir Univ. Cf. *Jammu and Kashmir Univ. Review, Vol. VIII, No 3,* June, 1967, p. 37.

British Government.[46] He immediately wrote to Ranbir Singh at Jammu —

"News had come that the Indian soldiers at Lahore and Sialkot have rebelled. It is hoped that the British Government will be able to suppress it. But what is needed, is, that you should be vigilent about your soldiers and forts. Intelligence reports must reach me regularly. It is most urgent".[47]

At the same time he cautioned *Diwān* Hari Chand against the spread of rebellion in his territories and issued strict injuction that no *Purbiā* should be enlised in army, as also deserters from the British troops should not only be refused recruitment, but should be captured.[48] Finally, Ranbir Singh, togather with *Diwān* Hari Chand, was ordered to go with a large force to help in the seige of Delhi.[49] Consequently four battalions, *Dhani*, *Narāin*, *Brij Rāj* and *Govardhan*, together with an artillery under the command of *Diwān* Hari Chand, were sent to Delhi.[50] The contingent despatched consisted of nearly 3,000 men including 2,000 infantry, 200 Cavalry, with 6 guns.[51] Ranbir Singh himself accompanied the troops to Delhi, but he had to return on account of the deat of his father on 2 August 1857, and troops marched under the leadership of *Diwān* Hari Chand.

But even the help given by the Maharaja was viewed with suspicion as the rumour was current in Delhi that Maharaja Gulāb Singh only bided his time to strike with effect. King Bahādur Shāh Zaffar's newspaper "*Akhbār-ul-Zaffar*" dated July, 1857, had published a news-item to the effect that the Maharaja had sent a letter to the king assuring his support to the mutineers and that he was expected to march into Delhi, along with the troops, any moment".[52]

46. Prof. A. Q. Sarvari rightly concludes, "In view of this contemporary evidence one finds it difficult to accept the statement of Sardar K. M. Panikkar that Maharaja Gulāb Singh made the offer himself from his deathbed." of *J&K University Review, Vol. VIII No 3*, p. 38.

47. *Maharaja Gulab Singh to Ranbir Singh* dated 29 May, 1857, Persian Records, SAR (J).

48. *Maharaja Gulab Singh to Diwan Hari Chand*, Murasila, dated 10 Jeth, 1914, Persian Records, SAR (J).

49. Panikkar, K.K., *The Founding of Kashmir State*, London.

50. *MS. No.770*, GRL (S).

51. *File No. 175* — Persian Records, SAR (J).

52. "*Akhbar-i-Zaffar*", Delhi, dated 8th July, 1857 and "*Sadid-ul-Akhbār*", Delhi, Vol. 4, No. 5, 1273, AR., as quoted in "*1857 Akhbar aur Dastaweezen*" by the Atique Ullah Sadiqui.

The Chief Commissioner, therefore, personally inspected the troops at Jullundur to dispel his doubts. He found that of the officers "three Colonels, three commandents and six Adjutants are among the most faithful and best tried of the Jammu adherents. All the men, with the exception of a few *Afghāns*, acting as orderlies, are affirmed to be and appeared to the Chief Commissioner, Dogrās i.e., Hill Rajputs of the same clan and country as the Maharaja himself".[53]

The Chief Commissioner offered the usual marching allowance to the contingent but *Diwān* Hari Chand showed him a letter from the Maharaja giving the soldiers increase of pay to the extent of 25% upto the Satluj and 50% after crossing the river. The "Chief Commissioner, therefore, contented himself with giving the troops a present of Rs. 5,000. At their parting interview at Jullundur, the Chief Commissioner presented each officer, including *Dewān* with a handsome *khillat*".[54]

The Chief Commissioner sent his own brother, Capt. R. C. Lawrence in political charge of the contingent, assisted by six selected British officers. The Maharaja also sent a loan of six lakhs of rupees.[55] After crossing the Satluj cholera broke out in their ranks, notwithstanding which, and the great heat of the season, the troops reached Delhi at a critical moment in the history of the mutiny. During the storm of Delhi, a portion of these troops formed part of the column which attacked the advanced positions of the mutineers in the suburbs of Delhi, with the view of making diversion of the main object, the assault of the city. In this affair the State troops suffered considerably. The very day after Delhi fell, *Dewān* Jawālā Sahai's brother, the commander of these troops and the Maharaja's *Vakil* both died of cholera, which circumstances greatly depressed the minds of the native officers and men. On this being reported to me by telegram. I urged the *Dewān* (Jawālā Sahāi) to send off his younger brother to supply the place of the brother who had fallen at his post. To this request the *Dewān* at once acceded; the young-man mounted the mail car that night, and within twenty-four hours was doing his duty with the troops of his master. I think that these were the services which demand my grateful acknowledgements and the admiration of all Englishmen."[56]

After Hari Chand's death the Dogrā contingent was commanded

53. *Punjab Govt., Records, Vol. VII, Part I*; p. 421.
54. *Secretary to Chief Commissioner*, letter dated 27th August, 1857.
55. Letter No. 46, dated 2 Sept. 1857, *Secretary, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to Foreign Secretary.*
56. *Political A.; No 104 of August 1858*, NAI(MD).

by R.C. Lawrence, although soon after Nihāl Chand, youngest brother of *Diwān* Jawālā Sahāi, had reached Delhi by forced marches to take the place of Hari Chand. Baird Smith, the commander of the besieging force, prepared a plan to storm Delhi. "Every commanding officer had been furnished with a copy, but there is such a thing as accidents of war. Baird's column not only failed in its objective but had to retreat. With his Gurkhās was associated the Jammu troops, led by R. C. Lawrence. The Jammu troops were soon afterwards routed, but other did not fare well".[57] Anyhow, the Jammu troops recovered soon after and played a significant role in the reduction of Delhi. The uprising failed for want of mass support and due to disunity. After the fall of Delhi the Jammu contingent was employed for the suppression of uprising in Jhajjar where it did an appreciable work.[58]

The British Government made a particular mention of the services rendered by *Diwān* Hari Chand, *Diwān* Nihāl Chand, Col. Sangāra, *Kumedān* Mehjar Singh, adjutant Lābhā and about half a dozen junior officers.[59] *Rāi* Duley Chand, the special political agent

57. Sen, S. N., *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, p. 106. Major General D. K. Palit gives the following account of the activities of the Dogrā contingent in and around Delhi; the force came under the political charge of Lt. Col. R.C. Lawrence at Jullundur on 21 August 1857, and by means of forced marches of 20 miles a day, reached Delhi by 8 Sept. A detachment of 500 infantry and two guns were located at Kasuali to keep open communications between Simlā, Karnāl and the Delhi camp. The remainder of the force provided working parties for trench digging and took part in the assault on Kishan Ganj on 14 Sept. Overwhelmed by enemy forces, the attack was halted; but on the next day, an enemy counter-attack was repulsed. In these engagements a large number of Jammu and Kashmir troops were killed or wounded but their efforts succeeded at least in siphoning pressure from other areas of the city. After the fall of Delhi, the Jammu and Kashmir contingent assisted in the protection of Kābul Gate and Mori Bastion as well as in the resettlement and disarming of Rohtak Distt. In addition the main element of the contingent marched 90 miles in three days to assist the attack and capture of the Jhajjar fort. The Jammu and Kashmir force returned to Jammu in April, having suffered heavy losses including *Diwān* Hari Chand who was killed in action just outside Delhi. In appreciation of the services rendered by the Kashmir army the Govt. of India offered the Maharaja an *ilāquā* in Province of Oudh. The offer, however, was declined. (Palit, Maj. Gen. D. K., *Jammu and Kashmir Arm*, p. 54).

58. *File No. 93 of S. 1928*, folio 10, *Lawrence to Maharaja*, date nil; *File No. 174*, folio 2, 4 *John Lawrence to Maharaja*, dated 24 May, 1858, Persian Record, SAR (J).

59. *File No. 9*, pp. II-13, *Col. Lawrence to Maharaja*, dated 16 March, 1858, Persian Records, SAR (J).

of the Maharaja accompanying the troops also died of cholera at Delhi during the operations and his office was taken over by his son *Rādhā Kishan*, and *Miān* Gangā Singh, one after the other.

The Governor-General appreciated the services rendered by the Maharaja in the task of suppressing the uprising of 1857. Sir John Lawrence was particularly obliged to the Maharaja for the friendly help which was available at a place far away from the territories of His Highness though according to the treaty (March 1846) such help was only expected when the British troops were employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.[60] Even the Queen despatched presents for the Maharaja and conveyed her commendation about his loyalty and sincerity, through Sir Charless Wood, Secretary of State for India.[61] The Maharaja was also given the title of C.O.S.I. in an investiture *Darbār* held at Lahore by Lord Canning in 1858, on which occasion he delivered a speech expressing his pleasure on being able to render selfless service and loyality to the Queen and Her Indian Government.[62] He felt proud that he had rendered a useful service in the tradition of his father and helped suppressing the rebels and was glad that the insurgents had been crushed. Accordingly, he held a *Darbār* to commemorate the success of the British.[63] He even refused to accept the *Khilat* amounting to one *lakh* rupees and a *jāgir* in Oudh offered by the Supreme Government in recognition of his services to the British during the great uprising. He declared that he had done his duty out of loyalty and goodwill, and not as a mercenary.[64] On the return of the troops to Jammu, the Maharaja distributed a *lakh* of rupees in gratitude, and in life pensions to dependants of those who had fallen.[65]

Ranbir Singh had refused to be in any way benefitted by his so claimed selfless service, but the hint thrown by him to the Governor-General Lord Canning at the Lahore *Darbār* was meaningful when he said in his speech—"apart from the *Khilat* for which I am grateful no other compensation of the kind of 'gifts' has taken shape in my case. I am, however, not destitute of the hope, neither disappointed".[66] The grateful British Government took the hint and not long after, this favour accrued to the expectant Maharaja. The Viceroy of India gave

60. *File No. 174 of 1856*, Persian Records, SAR (J).
61. *File No. 165 of 1860*, Persian Records, SAR (J).
62. *File No. 174 of 1856*, fol. I—Persian Records, SAR (J).
63. *File No. 174, op. cit.*
64. Bajaj, P.N. *Inside Kashmir*, Delhi, 1966, p. 39.
65. Sufi, G.M.D. *Kashir*, Delhi, 1974, Vol. II, p. 794.
66. *File No. 174 of 1858*, fol. I, Persian Records, SAR (J).

sanction, vide *sanad* dated 9 March 1860, to Ranbir Singh's right of adopting a son on failure of having male heir to succeed him. At the same time the document reiterated the previlege of his line to rule in Jammu and Kashmir State.[67] Ranbir Singh had in a series of letters expressed his gratitute to the supreme government. On this occasion also he wrote:

"This humble servant in obedience to Royal orders in the service of her Excellency, jumped into the flood of mischief mongers, rebels, and instigators; and sent his loyal soldiers to help the Royal forces and bravely face the trouble creators, who were faithless bastards; this humble servant begs to offer his most sincere thanks to her Exalted Majesty, the Queen for giving this humble servant the special Status.[68]

He was told that his services have cemented the hands of friendship between him and the British.[69] On his father's death he had already been assured that nothing would change the friendship and mutual faith which had existed since the days of Gulāb Singh.[70]

The amount of submissiveness shown by Ranbir Singh had very calculated motive underneath. He was by nature humble and humane, but the newly acquired throne required full sympathy and support of the British authorities. There were several administrative and economic problems to be solved before he could handle his relations with that government with firmness and confidence as he did later. Maharaja Gulāb Singh had left many things undone, which could be solved to the satisfactory conclusion only with the cooperation and sufferance of the British. Moreover, he had ambitions reaching beyond the northern and north-western frontiers of his State. He wanted to prepare ground for his 'leap forward' policy towards Central Asia. In particular he "wanted to regain what his father had lost in Gilgit and Dardistān and something more beyond the Pāmirs".[71] All these, and many other problems particularly the appeasement of Kashmiris and the silencing of European intrigues on Kashmir, required the goodwill of the British Government and the support of its officials. Ranbir Singh had to strike a balance between his subordination to the British and his right to independence of action and decision in the sphere of

67. *File No. 165 of 1860, Sanad Khas*, Dt. March 91860, Persian Record, SAR (J).

68. *File No. 166 of 1860*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

69. *File No. 290 of 1857*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

70. *File No. 290 of 1857*, Murasila Dated 7 August, 1857, *John Lawrence to Ranbir Singh*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

71. Hussain, E.M. *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, Delhi, 1674, p. 39.

internal and external affairs. In the existing circumstances he was able to wrench out much and taking full advantage of the political complicity of the British Government he recovered Gilgit and added more territories to his dominions, which reveals his thorough grasp on the diplomatic armoury.

Gulāb Singh's attiude in helping the British Government during the uprising can be viewed in the light of Russell's obeservation that it is not in human nature, as broken treaties in all time testify, to maintain an entire devotion to a tottering State; and "self preservation has the same influence over the conduct of kings that it exercises over the acts of private individuals."[72] Gulāb Singh was not slow in comprehencing the nature of the rising and its weakness, and so realised that the security and continuity of their rule could only by guaranteed if the British remained in power in India. In case of the failure of British power at that time nothing but chaos and insecurity would have ensued. The rebels aslo stood no chance of success in his estimation. Since he never believed in crude speculations, he lost no time in rendering help to the British which he actually owed to them in gratitude.

Section C

The Punch Affairs and an Abortive Conspiracy

The early days of Ranbir Singh's reign were yet marked by a few attempts on his life. The spirit of factionalism which had taken the blood of Ranjit Dev's favourite son, Dalel Singh, and latter weakened the Jammu kingdom, once again cast its ugly shadow on the ruling family. This time again the conspiracy was hatched by the collaterals, *Miān* Jawāhar Singh, son of Ranbir Singh's real uncle, and *Miān* Hathū, Gulāb Singh's illegitimate son.

The arch-intriguer seems to have been Raja Jawāhir Singh, son of Raja Dhiān Singh, who had earlier claimed equal share of the State with Maharaja Gulāb Singh. Maharaja Ranjit singh had given separate principalities to the three brothers and Raja Hirā Singh: Jammu to Gulāb Singh, Chibāl (Punch to Dhiān Singh, Bandrālta to Suchet Singh and Jasrotā to Hirā Singh). Suchet Singh had no offspring, hence when Hirā Singh became the Prime Minister, of Lahore

72. Russell, *My Diary in India*, quoted by Dr. Dharam Pal in "1857 struggle causes of Failure". *U.S I. Journal, July-Sept. 1957*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 368, p. 213.

after the death of his father in Sept. 1843, he pressed for the equal division of Suchet Singh's estate and property between Gulāb Singh (the Jammu faimly) and the Punch family represented by Hirā Singh and his two brothers, *Miān* Jawāhir Singh and *Miān* Moti Singh. Gulāb Singh is said to have agreed for this division in principle, but before the agreement could be executed Hirā Singh was forced to flee Lahore and was killed on 21 December, 1844 alongwith *Pandit* Jallā, Gulāb Singh's son Sohan Singh and other companions. The Lahore Government had declared Raja Hirā Singh and *Pandit* Jallā as rebels.[73] After the death of Raja Hirā Singh the territory of Chibhāl, Punch, Kotli, Sailā and Behrām Galā had been confiscated by *Sarkār Khalsāji* in January, 1845, and had been entrusted first to Faiz-Talab Khān afterwards transferred to Sardār Chatter Singh.[74]

Hence the Punch faimly totally fell from favour at the Lahore *Darbār* and they had lost their status of Rajas, *Jāgirdars* or officers of the kingdom of Lahore after this event. All these territories came under the possession of Gulāb Singh as a part of Jammu and Kashmir State given to him by the treaty of Amritsar, dated 16 March, 1846 by the British Government. Now Gulāb Singh as a sovereign over whole of this country, and with a view to provide an honourable living for his nephews, *Miān* Jawāhir and *Miān* Moti Singh, gave to them in *jagir* the territory of Chibhāl, Punch etc. amounting to annual revenue of three *lakhs* and fifty thousand rupees.[75] But *Miān* Jawāhir Singh was not satisfied and he and his brother *Miān* Moti Singh filed a suit in the court of British Resident of Lahore for the full possession of Dhiān Singh's estates, *jagirs* and property of Hirā Singh and Suchet Singh and half share in Jammu.[76]

However, their claim was summarily dissmissed. But Gulāb Singh gave them all the *jāgirs* of Punch and Chibhāl previously belonging to Raja Dhiān Singh and remitted all the levies and revenues except a nominal tribute. Jawāhir, however, continued dissatisfied and even fell out with his younger brother, Moti Singh. The Board of Administration for Punjab therefore divided the property between

73. *Document No. D/67 (Persian), Enclosure to Diwān Jawālā Sahāi's Petition,* Dated 24 Baisakh, 1905-PSA, Patiala; Charak S.D.S., *Gulābnāmā,* p. 352.

74. Charak S.D.S., *Gulābnāmā,* p. 352.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Document No. D/64 (Persian), Petition of Miān Jawāhir Singh and Miān Moti Singh, through Mohar Singh,* dated 11.8.1847, PSA, Patiala.

the two brothers by the judgement given on the 30th August, 1852.[77] This decision further reduced the property and ambitions of Jawāhir Singh who seems to have become more bitter and resentful towards Gulāb Singh whom he considered the instigator of Moti Singh in the affair. He, therefore, became more defiant, and completely abandoning himself to frustration, tried to raise an army in Peshāwar and instil rebellion in his territory.[78] Gulāb Singh, however, anticipated him, ordered *Diwān* Hari Chand to storm Throch and Manglā forts and annex the Raja's *jāgir*. Though the Maharaja withdrew his troops on intervention of British Government,[79] yet on being apprised of the facts they upheld Gulāb Singh's accusations and Jawāhir Singh took shelter in British Territory.

After the death of Gulab Singh on 2 August, 1857, Jawāhir Singh once again became active and joined hands with *Miān* Hathū who had been appointed Governor of Rājauri, and Mahān Singh. Thākur Kāhn Singh Balauriā refers to two attempts on the part of Jawāhir Singh and *Miān* Hathū to shoot the Maharaja.[80] Jawāhir Singh confided his plan to his servants, Rām Dittā, Ruldu and Nikkā, through whom he began to contact some local persons. *Miān* Hathū, and two disgruntled officers of the Maharaja's army—Commanding officer Shādi Khān Chib and Subedar Gulābū Langeh also joined the conspirators. According to Thākur Kāhn Singh Balauriā the others who joined were Ganjār Dev, and Mallū Salāthiā, residents of Chaughān Salāthiā, Jammu; Mohrū Thakkar; Udey Singh Bandrāl; Jawāhar Manhās; Nar Singh Das Rainā and Jittū Gajodiā.[81]

Ranbir Singh was very fond of riding and *shikār* and used to go out occasionally to the nearby jungles. The conspirators, therefore, found excellent opportunity to carry out their plan. While the Maharaja was seated on a *machān* looking for the game, Gulābū Langeh is alleged to have fired upon him. The shot went astray. On the same day another attempt was made in the jungle below the Gumat Gate. This time again the Maharaja was not hurt and the

77. *Document No. D/28, (Persian) decision of the court of Colonel Sir H.M. Lawrence*, President and the first commissioner of the Board of Administration for Punjab, 30-8, 1952, PSA, Patiala.

78. *Miān* Jawāhir Singh had planned armed rebellion as early as the beginning of 1855, and annex Pārakh and Kotli, Cf. *File No. 136 of S. 1911* (A. D. 1854-55), *Irshād* Dated 18 March, 199; Persian Record, SAR (J).

79. Satinder Singh, Bawa, *The Jammu Fox*, Southern, Illinois University Press, 1974, p. 131.

80. Kāhn Singh Balauriā, Thākur, *Sawānih Umari Maharaja Ranbir Singh Bahādur*, (Urdu Booklet of 55 pages), Lahore, 1923 (S. 1980), p. 3.

81. *Ibid*, pp. 4-6.

conspirators escaped.

The baffled, but undaunded conspirators held a secret meeting and decided to make a final attempt. The venue of the meeting became known to one Gansehā Bhalwāl,[82] who was the treasury officer of the Maharaja, who informed *Wazir* Labh Joo. Both went to the Maharaja and related the details to him. All the conspirators except Jawāhir Singh, were arrested. Sir Robert Davies, Secretary to the Punjab Government, himself recorded and forwarded to the Maharaja, statement made by one Sheikh Salār Baksh of Sialkot Cantonment, on 21st June, 1859, regarding the plot of *Miān* Hathu and others to assassinate Ranbir Singh.[83]

The Maharaja himself heard the case, which was proved against 45 persons and pronounced his judgement on 10 February, 1860. Shādi Khān and Gulābū Langeh were publicly hanged at Akhnūr and Bishnāh respectively. *Miān* Hathu was imprisoned in Dodā Fort. Others were awarded various terms of imprisonment and kept in the forts at Pogal, Gajpat and Salāl. Movabla and immovable properties of some of the accused were also confiscated. The Anglo-Indian press, as usual, revelled in lavishly commenting on the incident and deriving far-fetched conclusion that. "The present ruler of Cashmere is not liked by his troops and is said to have sufficient of the devil in him, to keep them and his subjects in general, in good order".[84] Soon after the Maharaja won the entire respect and affection of his people by his good intentions, and his position was never challenged afterwards.

The intrigues and disloyalty of Raja Jawāhir Singh having come to light his estate was confiscated and Punch was then declared the *jāgir* solely of Raja Moti Singh, and his descendants continued to enjoy a privileged position in Jammu and Kashmir. Jawāhir Singh was finally given off a pension of rupees one Lakh annually through the British Government by an agreement, Jawāhir Singh renounced for ever his claim on *jāgirs* and property in J & K State and undertook not to employ, neither to carry on correspondence with, any subjects of the Maharaja and bound himself to reside only at a place

82. According to G.M.D. Sufi it was Sheikh Saudagar who unearthed the conspiracy.

83. *File No. 203 of A.D. 1856* (Persian Records), SAR (J).

84. *Times of India*, January 20, 1859-quoted by F.M. Hussain in *British Policy towards Kashmir, op. cit*, p. 40.

to the east of Ambala.[85] He was thus exiled from the State and this brought to conclusion the hostilities between the Maharaja and the Punch family. The younger brother, Raja Moti Singh ruled in Punch efficiently as a loyal subordinate chief of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State. The good administration which he established in Punch received praise from Sir John Lawrence who formed "high opinions" of the character and ability of the Raja.[86]

Ranbir Singh's Family

Poligamy was fashion among the aristocratic and even the middle class society of those days, and Ranbir Singh was no exception to it. He, however was a devoted husband and because of religious bent of mind, did not believe in promiscuous relations. He had five *rānis* married from time to time but had offspring only from the first *rānis*. His first marriage was consummated in June, 1843 with the daughter of Raja Bije Singh of Sibā in Kāngra.[87] At that time Ranbir Singh was hardly thirteen years in age. In Oct. 1848 he was married for the second time with the sister of Raja Hirā Chand, ruler of Kahlūr (Bilāspur).[88] In July 1871 he celebrated his third marriage in a family of Charak Rajputs.[89] During 1880, when he was fifty years old, he took two more wives, one each from Balauriā and Bandrāhl clans. Both out-lived their royal husband. The Balauriā *rāni* built a big temple complex below the Gumat gate. She died in 1894. The Bandrāhl *rāni* also built two Raghunāth temples in Purani Mandi. These shrines exist even now in good condition.

The chief *rāni* Sibei gave birth to the heir-apparent on 18 July, 1848 (6 Sawan, S. 1905),[90] who was named *Miān* Pratāp Singh. When prince Pratāp Singh was about seven years of age his mundan ceremony was performed with all the religious and imperial glamour and the celebrations lasted for two months during which *lakhs* of rupees were spent, and one *lakh* and seventy-two thousand rupees were received in *tambol*.[91] Maharani Sibei gave birth to

85. *Documents No. D/29 (Persian), Copy of Agreement from Raja Jawāhir Singh to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State,* Dated 18 Feb. 1859, PSA, Patiala.

86. *Document No. D/32 (Persian) Letter of John Lawrence to Raja Moti Singh of Punch,* Dated 21 Feb, 1859, PSA, Patiala.

87. Charak, S.D.S,, *Kirpa Ram's Gulābnāmā*, Eng. Tr. p. 239.

88. *Ibid.* p. 239, f.n. 1.

89. Kahan Singh Balauria, *Tārikh-i-Rājgān-i-Jammu-w-Kashmir*, p. 180.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

second son, Rām Singh, in June, 1861, and to third son, Amar Singh, on 4 January 1864. Next year in the month of March, the *Mahārāni* died. She had also given birth to two daughters before her death in January, 1881.[92] Ranbir Singh's third wife, *Rāni* Charak also gave birth to a son who was named Lakshman Singh. The child, however, died at the age of five in September, 1875.

The *mundan* ceremonies of Rām Singh and Amar Singh were performed in 1867 and 1868 respectively. Both the princes were given at an early age some territories in *jāgir* for maintenance. Rām Singh had been given a *jāgir* worth one *lakh* and a quarter in Rāmnagar, whereas Amar Singh received *Jāgir* of Basohli worth a *lakh* of rupees. Afterwards he got it exchanged for the territory of Bhadarwā. All the three princes were married in the life time of Ranbir Singh. Pratāp Singh's first marriage was consummated in the Chambā royal family on 10th February, 1862. Afterwards he took two more wives, one each from Katoch and Pathāniā houses. Rām Singh's first marriage was consummated with the daughter of the Bhadwāl Raja of Tilokpur in Kāngra, during the month of May, 1875. Six years later in October, 1881, he took a second wife from Katoch family of Lambā-gāon, sister of colonel Maharaja Jai Chand. A daughter born of the wedlock was married to Raja Kidār Chand of Chanāhan. Raja Amar Singh took a wife from a Chib family on 7 May, 1878.

As told earlier Maharaja Ranbir Singh had two daughters. The problem of their marriage was posed even during the life time of Maharaja Gulāb Singh. His choice fell on a prince of the Raja of Jaswān near Kāngra whose family was ancient and descent pure enough. But the family had been dispossessed of their principality on Charges of complicity in rebellion against the British during 1848, and were state prisoners in British India. Gulāb Singh, however, prevailed upon the governor-general to release the family and gave them shelter and succour. But it was only in 1871 that marriage of the elder daughter was performed with prince Raghunāth Singh Jaswāl, whom a small *jāgir* of Rāmkot was also given and a palace there to live in. After a few years the second daughter was also married to the same young prince. At the time of first marriage a sumptuous dowry was given to the couple by the Maharaja, which had been priced at seven *lakh* rupees by Mr. F. Drew.[93] It included, besides a cash of one *lakh* and twenty-five thousand rupees in silver

92. *Ibid.*, 180-181.
93. Drew, Frederic, *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 81.

and gold coins, three elephants, a number of gift horses, all gaily trapped, 51 cows, 51 buffaloes, adorned with red and yellow clothing and with the silver necklaces, 51 camels and 300 sheep, eleven hundred dresses of *muslin*, silk, *pashminā*, and gold brocade, gold worked slippers, jewellery, silver dishes and a tray and cups of solid gold, elephant and camel trappings, ornamented saddlery, tents, carpets and *shāmiānās*, all types of household utensils and large cooking contrivances, and numberless sundry articles.[94]

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

CHAPTER

3

An Era of Reforms: Civil & Judicial

Section A

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was formed in 1846 by tagging together three regions of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladākh which had existed as separate countries for centuries before their integration into one unit and had undergone different political and administrative experiences. Although Jammu had been ruled for a long time, except for a decade of direct Sikh rule, by its own rulers, but the chaotic conditions in the Punjab for over a century, had adversely affected its economy and administration. Whatever sane and just administrative system had been established by Ranjit Dev, that had been undermined by his weak and inefficient successors. Though Gulāb Singh had been made hereditary Raja of Jammu in 1822, yet he was not independent to execute reforms at his sweet will and had to follow the pattern in vogue every where in the kingdom of Lahore of which he was a vassal. There were several organisational defects in the administration which were left unredressed by Maharaja Gulāb Singh for want of adequate resources and opportunity. Administrative divisions were defective, jurisdiction of various departments and officers were overlapping, laws and jurisprudence were in primitive and verbal stage, judicial system was of medieval type and was quite disorganised, taxes were irrational and oppressive, and there was little effort on the part of the govern-

ment to ameliorate the economic condition of the people and to reform social evils.

Ladākh had been left to itself ever since its conquest by Zorāwar Singh in 1834-35, and only very rudimentary administrative system had been introduced there which was necessary for its effective civil and military occupation. In Kashmir Valley the situation had been much worse since the times of the Mughals and Afghāns—a time of "brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works, chivalry and honour."[1] The replacement of Afghān by Sikh rule in Kashmir in 1819 brought little relief, and the unfortunate country had still to suffer many ills. The Sikhs were not so barbarically cruel, but they were hard and rough masters".[2] After about twenty-seven years of Sikh occupation of the valley the people every where were in a "most abject condition, exhorbitantly taxed by the Sikh government and subjected to every kind of extortion and suppression by its officers."[3] Not one sixteenth of the arrable surface was in cultivation. Every trade was also taxed, and strange of all, even the *kotwāl*, or chief officer or justice, "paid a large gratuity of thirty thousand rupees a year for his appointment being left to reimburse himself as he might".[4] Things did not improve for the people, and vigne found them convulsing under burden of heavy taxes and oppression.[5]

Such was the state of disorganised and oppressive administration to which Gulāb Singh succeeded in his newly formed state, badly aflicted with lawlessness and disorder in some of its parts. It had been distorted by robbery, murder and rapine. It is said that at that time a cap or a *pagri* that a traveller might wear was enough for a temptation to plunder and violence.[6] With a firm hand Gulāb Singh put this down and brought the country to such a state of quiet and security "as makes it at this moment in that respect a pattern".[7] He was a strong and able administrator. "The utmost reverence and submis-

1. Lawrence, Sir Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, p. 20.
2. Young husband, Sir Francis Edward, *Kashmir Described*, London, 1919, p. 134.
3. Moorcroft, *Travels*, p. 264.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Vigne, G.T., *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardu, etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1842, p. 201.
6. Drew, Frederick, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories, Delhi*, 1971, p. 13.
7. *Ibid.*

sion" says Gardner, "attended the invocation of his name".[8] The foremost need of the time was an orderly state and establishment of law and order in his territories. He achieved this in a appreciably short time and to quite a satisfactory extent. As an administrator he was better than most of those of his own time and neighbourhood.[9] He knew how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it.[10] He was always accessible, and was patient and was ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details, so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration.[11] Thus the tendency of his government was always towards centralisation. He was a man of a stronger character than most of the rulers that had preceded him, and probably his experience in the wider area of the Punjab had taught him both the advantages and the feasibility of relatively diminishing the power of fuedal subordinates. He confiscated their fiefs and became direct ruler; in other cases he retained and attached to his government the nobles, while gradually lessening their political importance.[12] He therefore, did away with the evils of medieval feudalism, created orderliness out of chaos that had developed on him, and paved the way for his successor to execute reforms on the lines of modern administration. Although Gulāb Singh had to deal with the more pressing problems usually confronted by the pioneering architects of a state, and though his own conception of good government was confined to model "in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and the revenue came in punctually", yet he successfully laid out the stage for future development and reform and imparted Ranbir Singh adequate training for materialisation of most of his dreams of a good and benevolent government. His main objective remained consotidation of his territories and by his steady efforts "some confidence was inspired in the permanence of administration".[13]

Administration, Central and Provincial

This was the type of government which Maharaja Ranbir Singh was destined to handle and improve. He had already gained some

8. Pearse, *Hugh, Memoirs of Alexender Gardner*, Patiala, 1970 reprint, p. 104.
9. Drew, Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.
13. Lawrence, Walter, R., *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 20.

experience in administration as vice-regal of Gulāb Singh at Jammu. At about the age of sixteen he had to take over the government of this province soon after his father had acquired Jammu and Kashmir State. During the course of his early years as administrator he had the occasion to observe the prevailing system from very close quarters and to notice the numerous defects from which it suffered. He had also the opportunity of learning some admirable points of the settled administration in the adjoining British provinces and to realise quite an unfavourable contrast with that of his own state. He had, therefore, to do much spade work before he could evolve a scientifically organised government. He started with an overhauling of the entire central and provincial administration with some decentralisation of powers. All the functions of the government were divided into three main branches, *Daftar-i-Nizāmat* or civil administration, *Dafar-i-Diwāni* or revenue administration, and *Daftar-i-Jangi* or war department. The whole government organisation was placed under a Prime Minister. In the early years of his reign, *Diwān* Jawālā Sahāi, the Prime Minister of Maharaja Gulāb Singh, had continued in this office, but later due to attack of paralysis he was obliged to make over the office to his son, *Diwān* Kirpā Rām.[14]

The process of decentralisation of administration was carried further by the introduction of a set of rules called *Āin-i-Council*.[15] Under these rules some powers delegated to the heir-apparent, *Miān* Pratap Singh, and a Council of Minsiters which was henceforth formed with *Diwān* Anant Rām as a Prime Minister. The other Ministers, nominated to the council were: *Bābū* Nilāmber Mukerjee, *Wazir* Punnu and *Sheikh* Wahāb Din. The allotment of portfolios was as under:

1. *Diwān* Anant Rām: Frontier matters, and political and diplomatic relations with British Government.
2. *Bābu* Nilamber Mukerjee: Revenue, accounts and recoveries.
3. *Wazir* Punnu: Forests, expenditure (both cash and foodgrains).
4. *Sheikh* Wahāb Din: Mines and minerals, police and jails, development and trade, posts and telegraphs, roads and buildings.

14. Charak, S.D.S. *Gulābnāmā*, Eng. Trans., 1977, p. XX.
15. *File No. 1288*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

Diwān Kirpā Rām died on 11 Asuj, S. 1933.[16] corresponding to 23 September, 1876, when his son Anant Rām was made Prime Minister who held this office till 1885. The earlier division of administration into three heads, seems to have been expanded into a large number of departments or portfolios, bearing on Ranbir Singh's more detailed organisation of his government and larger delegation of powers to his executive advisers and policy framers. Obviously he was aiming at becoming a constitutional head, a process which seems to have been reverted by his successors under the impact of very complicated and forceful political conditions developing later. Ranbir Singh also enacted rules of Business and Procedure for the branches of administration and these were published in Persian and Dogri languages.

To facilitate administration and to imbibe it was efficiency and the spirit of service whole of the territory was divided into big and small administrative units. The largest divisions were the two Provinces—Jammu and Kashmir, each under a *Hākim-i-Ālā* or Governor. Ladākh and Baltistān which has been conquered by Gulāb Singh in 1835 and 1840 respectively, and had been administered from Jammu ever since, remained under the governor of Jammu. The Kashmir Province had its headquarters at Srinagar. The governors enjoyed both administrative and judicial powers. They had under them a *wazir* in each *wazārat* (i.e., district) and a *tehsildār* in each *tehsil*. In September, 1882 Ranbir Singh effected a larger decentralisation of administration by sanctioning formation of two councils for the two provinces, each to be presided over by the provincial governor. To the Kashmir council were nominated the following members; Suraj Bal, Hirānand, Akbar Beg, Mirzā Mohi-ud-Din and Khwājā Sanā-Ullah Shāwl. *Diwān* Badri Nath, the governor of Kashmir, was its president "who had to conduct all administrative and financial business in consultation with this council."[17]

In the reorganisation of central and provincial governments of the state, Ranbir Singh seems to have been inspired by the earnest wishes of an enlightened native ruler to initiate the measures of gradual

16. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulābnāmā*, New Delhi, 1977, p. XXI; cf. Griffin's *Chief*, p. 132, which gives the year 1876 of his death.

17. Hassan, Pir Ghulam, Khuihami, *Tārikh-i-Hassan*, Srinagar, Vol. II, p. 871.

democratisation of administration according to the highest conception then prevalent in India. There is no dount that he did not materially change the basic structure of the personal rule his father had established, he retained the powers of the government with himself and the different departments remained as usual in charge of the ministers who were appointed by the Maharaja and were responsible to him. Yet the very decentralisation of the administrative powers and functions in the centre and provinces was a step, not only appropriate to the needs of the time, but also the first desidratum for the subsequent process of democratisation, which even the British Government was reluctant to sanction to Indians by the Acts of 1861 and 1881.[18] The Maharaja had libralised administration and rendered it more broad based by nominating a number of Muslim members of the central and provincial councils. These reforms had ensured an effective participation of the representatives of the people in administration. An attempt was made by the Maharaja to demarcate the various functions of the administration and separate departmental organisations were established for the army, foreign relations, home-affairs and religious endowments.[19] The provincial administration was modified to the extent that resident governors were appointed for the two provinces under whom were placed the district officers who supervised the administration in different districts in each province.

Administrative Divisions

The divisional distribution of Kashmir province was abolished and the province was redistributed in district which were administered by district officers. Each district or *wazārat* was subdivided into *tehsils*

18. Teng, M.K.; Bhatt, R.K. Kaul and Santosh Kaul; *Kashmir: Constitutional History and Documents*, New Delhi, 1977. p. 13.
19. *Ibid.*

and *pargaanās* as under:[20]

Districts or Wazārats	*Tehsils*	*Parganās*
1. Shahr-i-Khās	3	6
2. Anantnāg	6	8
3. Shopian	5	9
4. Pattan	6	7
5. Kamrāj	4	9
6. Muzaffarābād	3	9

20. *Bi-ennial Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*, for S. 1929-30 (1872-73). Mr. A. Wingate in his "*Preliminary Report of Settlement Operatians in Kashmir and Jammu.*" gives the following list of districts and *tehsils* in the Valley of Kashmir in the year 1943 (1886):

Zillas	*Tehsils*	*Villages*	*Revenue in Chilki Rupee*
Sahr Khas	Yech	85	1,01,196
	Nāgām	95	1,11,194
	Vehu Nāhāmā	74	87,712
	Lāl	142	97,481
	Phak	110	96,929
	Donsu Machāmā	151	1,27,297
	Mir Behri	12	32,275
		675	6,54,084
The Zillas	*Tehsils*	*Villages*	*Revenue in Chilki Rupee*
Haripur or Shopian	Devsar	141	1,23,214
	Shopian	137	1,19,378
	Tral	67	1,08,070
	Charsu	92	1,14,063
	Ram Patri	121	1,16,634
	Chirat	65	1,06,822
		623	6,88,181
Kamrāj or	Uttar Machhipurā	148	92,868
Wular Lake	Hamāl Azinagir	131	1,00,557
	Khuihāmā	60	73,132
	Mahāl Singhārā	51	37,397
	Krohān Bārāmullā	108	1,06,621
	Biroh Māgām	160	93,590
	Pattan	125	1,06,226
	Chaklā Drugmūlā	10	22,063
		788	6,40,454
Anantnāg or	Anantnāg	81	1,07,861
Islāmābād	Sāhibābād	52	93,511
	Hārkorā Bring	52	87,594
	Sri Ranbirsighpurā	63	91,483
	Khorpārā Mārtand	91	91,313
	Dachhinpārā	61	1,06,226
	Krenā Ranbirpurā	1	11,144
		401	5,89,355

The Jammu Province had the following divisions:

Districts or Wazārats	*Tehsils*	*Parganās*
1. Jammu	4	30
2. Jasrotā	2	13
3. Rāmnagar	4	30
4. Udhampur	6	66
5. Riāsi	3	31
6. Nowsherā	3	19
7. Manāwar[21]	3	18

Ladakh, Shardu (Balistan) and Gilgit Wazārats were similarly divided into parganas. The jagirs of Punch and Chanehni were administered differently by their rulers. As Udhampur was an unwidely Wazarāt, it was split up into two in 1877—Udhampur and Kashtwar. The same year the Jammu province was divided into 98 chaklas placed each under an official called Chakladar. They were invested with powers to deal with civil and criminal cases.[22]

Organisation of Police Force

The casual system of establishing *thānās* under '*thānādārs*' and city *Kotwāls* was in vogue since the days of Sikh rule, which Gulāb Singh had carried on in the state. He had strictly introduced and enforced responsibility of local functionaries for maintaining law and order, for detecting theft and crimes or making good the losses suffered by the people. This principle of imposing personal responsibility on local functionaries and *thānādārs* helped stamp out crime and lawlessness throughout the length and breadth of the State and establish law and order in the hitherto turbulent territories.[23]

Ranbir Singh, however, considered the police force as an essential part of the process of justice and as an indispensable machinery for maintaining peace and order among the people. Its need was particularly felt by him when disturbances between Shiās and Sunnis broke out in Srinagar. Immediately after the disturbances he raised a police force on the model of the Punjab constabulary. The next year saw the establishment of city police in Jammu also with Pandit

21. *Ibid.*
22. *Report-i-Majmui* for S. 1932-34 (1875-77).
23. Drew, Fredrick, *The Jumoo and Kashmir Territories*, 1971, p. 68.

Shambū Nāth as its officer-in-charge.[24] The whole police organisation was based on the model of the British police in the adjoining provinces. It was re-formed in 1882 under a chief called officer General Police.[25] A regular police force was posted in all the districts under the charge of an Inspector, assisted by a Deputy Inspector. In the Jammu Province, Police circles were reorganised in order to enable police authorities conduct affairs more efficiently. Police *chaukies* were set up at all ferries, frontier posts and at all stages on the routes. The police force at each *chauki* comprised four constables under a sergeant.

In Kashmir Province, where previously police force was stationed only in the capital and at a few selected towns, police stations and *chaukis* were set up throughout all the *wazārats*. The Police force every where was controlled by judicial officers and finally by the *wazir-wazārats* (i.e , deputy commissioners). In the districts of Ladākh, Iskardū, and Gilgit no particular change was effected and police force there remained directly under the *wazir-wazārat* as before.[26] The police constables and officers were equipped with rifles, swords and sticks.

The total strength of police force in the state at the close of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign was as follows: 1, Officers General, 2, Officers, one in each province, assisted by Assistants (4 in Jammu and 2 in Kashmir), 14 Inspectors, 186 sergeants, 1226 constables, 6 mounted police, and 132 others, making a total of 1656 persons.[27] All the communities were well represented in police force which was marked by its secular character. The number of Hindus was 630, Muslims 744, and 292 other communities.[28] The total expenditure on the maintenance of this department for the two years—April 1882 to March 1884, has been recorded at Rs. 2,73,930, out of which Kashmir province shared only Rs. 72,474.[29]

This reform and reorganization of the Police Department seems to have improved the law and order situation in the provinces resulting in lowering of incidence of crimes by about 25% in Jammu Province and by about seven-eighth in Kashmir province. The one cause of

24. *Bi-ennial Administration Report, Jammu and Kashmir State*, S. 1929-30 (A.D.1872-73).

25. *Report Majmūi of Jammu and Kashmir State*, for the year S.1939-40 (April 1892-March 1884), p. 113.

26. *Ibid.* p. 114.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-15.

29. *Ibid.*

this improvement was the efficient functioning of the police, coupled with rich harvests and cheep prices.

The organisation of jails was also an important adjunct of judicial as well as of police administration. The condition of jails, however, seems not to have been satisfactory and accommodation was inadequate, two jails had been established, one each at Jammu and Srinagar, and the same continued till 1884[30] without any addition. There were small lock-ups at Ladākh and Iskardū and the prisoners of those regions were not brought to jails and Srinagar or Jammu because of climatic problems. The two provincial jails had 1,962 inmates at the close of the year 1880-81, which included 453 convicts at the close of the preceding year. Of these 1,477 persons were released after undergoing their terms of imprisonment, 64 died in the jails and 13 absconded,[31] and 428 continued imprisonment. During the years 1882-84, 1713 fresh convicts entered the jails to make a total of 2,141. Of these 1,651 were released after undergoing their terms of imprisonment, 2, on account of good conducts, 47 died of disease, 15 absconded, leaving behind a left-over of 426 convicts.

The expenditure incurred on the food, clothing, bedding and salaries of jail wards and constables on duty, etc., amounted to Rs. 56,483 during the year 1881-82, and Rs.60,402 during the year 1882-84. In spite of this state expenditure on prisoners, jails were to a large extent a neglected institution, as the death rate for two reports, amounting to about 3.25 and 2.2 percent, reveals. It has also been observed that jails were wretched huts without any provision of food. The prisoners were expected to get food from their homes. Those who were rich and well connected indulged in all kinds of luxury with impunity and managed with the connivance of jail guards, not only to see their friends and relations but even to sleep at their houses at intervals.[32] This deterioration in jail administration was, however, an outcome of the later corrupt practices. Jails no doubt, were considered punitive centres where rigorous imprisonment and *begār* were the usual modeas. But the idea of lockups as reformatories was also gaining ground, and Ranbir Singh's administration had started manufectories in jails and the inmates were trained in various

30. *Ibid.* p. 135.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *For Deptt., Feb. 1891, Nos. 295-326 Secret F.* From Col. Nisbet to Secretary, Govt. of India.

types of arts and crafts[33] in order to make them better and useful citizens. The type of life of the convicts in the jails was competible with the intentions of the penal code and that of the society as represented by the Government, and the same was undergoing a slight change. Ranbir Singh's reign was an interregnum between the medieval and the modern, and in some respect it foreshadowed modernism, whereas in others it reflects the lingering traces of medievalism, The administration of jails seems to reflect both the trends, as jail administration even today suffers from similar ills of corruption, favouritism and influentionalism.

Medical and Health services were also made available to the people. A regular Medical Department was established and the closing years of the reign of Ranbir Singh record setting up of 27 hospitals—9 were located in Jammu city and 18 in *wazārats* and *tehsils*, in addition to one dispensary each at Ladākh Gilgit and Iskardū. The Maharaja encouraged *Āyurvedic* and *Unāni* systems of medicines in the state. A number of medical books of the two systems were compiled and translated in Dogri. Afterwards the Maharaja also introduced the Allopathic system and appointed Dr.Bakhshi Rām as head of the department. Patients were given free treatment, and indoor patients were provided free lodging and beddings and clothing according to the season. Both Hindu and Muslim attendants were required in Hospitals to serve on the patients of the two communities.[34]

Statistical figures for the year 1882-84 show that 1,33,647 indoor patients were treated in these hospital in two years, besides 81,678 outdoor patients.[35] One remarkable achievement of the Medical and Public Health organisation was the establishment of an Eye Diseases Hospital at Jammu which admitted 282 blind patients of which 211 recorded complete cure. Wards of Surgery were also attached to most of these hospitals where 3044 serious operations were successfully performed, 82 under anesthesia. Adequate provision was made for vaccination and 2580 boys and girls were vaccinated. The state spent Rs. 46,801 during the year 1880-81 and Rs. 52,456 during 1882-83 on health services. The scope of this newly established department

33. *Bi-ennial report of Jammu and Kashmir Govt. for the years S.1937-38 & 1939-40. The Bi-ennial report for the year S. 1939-40* records Rs. 25,705 and Rs. 26,353 as returns from the sale of finished goods produced in the jail manufactories for the two years respectively (137).

34. *Bi-ennial report of the Jammu and Kashmir State*, (Urdu) for the years S.1939-40 (A.D. 1882-84), pp. 170-71.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-75.

was therefore widening and it was successfully performing the usual activities concerning public health.

Finance Department, Treasury and other Reforms

A Finance Department was also created in the early years of Ranbir Singh's reign. In 1869 Pandit Rām Krishan, brother of Pandit Jallā, was appointed as the Controller of Finance. The Pandit conducted extensive audit of accounts and found large amounts due from most of the senior most officers who conspired against him and got him exiled. In 1879 the Maharaja appointed Syed Wazir Ali as Controller of Finance. A set of rules and regulations for the Department was also sanctioned.[36]

The supreme authority in the financial administration of the state however, was vested in Maharaja Ranbir Singh himself. The Maharaja had the authority to consider and examine all proposals involving fresh expenditure.[37] All questions of increase and decrease of taxation and other items of budget even indirectly touching the finances of the state were considered by him before a reference to the finance member was made.[38]

The activities and responsibilities of the Finance Department must have become manifold by the introduction of monthly payment of state officials' salaries in place of semi-annual or annual payment. "Until lately the state discharged its liabilities to its servants in the following primitive and unsatisfactory manner. The creditor received an order for the amount of his claim for pay, etc., on a government debtor, and he had to get the money as best as he could. If, as frequently happened, the debtor proved recalcitrant, the creditor was necessitated to apply for the services of some *sepoys* who were quartered on the debtor and lived at his charges until he thought fit or found the means to meet the government claim: often the creditor had to be satisfied with getting his dues by instalments at long intervals". The order for the new system of monthly cash salaries was issued probably in 1885.

Maharaja Gulāb Singh had already developed an organised system for receiving and paying money which suited to the conditions of his *jāgirs* and his *Rāj* after 1822. The system was then improved by him during the subsequent years and the same was carried on by

36. *File No. 1061 of S. 1933* (*1876 A.D.*), Persian Records, SAR (J).
37. *State Department, File No. D-5 of 1885*, Part II, SAR (J).
38. Bates, C.E., *The Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 99.

Ranbir Singh. He had established a hugemoney of treasuries, every administrative division being treated as a unit from below upwards and the whole system serving as nerve system for the state finances. There were reserve treasuries, *Sardar* treasuries, *tehsil* treasuries and *nizāmat* treasuries, all working under the direction given by the Maharaja,[39] who gave them particular command to act in a particular case. The response and stimulus was ordinarly automatic. However, the local treasuries were left alone to carry on the financial work according to the standing regulations—the official registration. This system "was well regulated and so designed as to embrace all the financial operations of the government."[40]

The reserve treasuries had some branches which contained valuables such as gold and silver articles, gold and silver bullion, jewellery and *Pashminā* goods. These were under the *wazir*, incharge of finances. As these treasuries contained valuables, so the *wazir* incharge of these was required to furnish a security by hypothecating his *jāgir* and cash *mukarrari* to the state.[41] The other branches of reserve treasury contained military and other stores and clothings and were put under a separate official. The reserve treasuries did not transact money receipts and payments and only held stores of valuable and other property. In addition it administered and kept an efficient management of all its branches and also ran the general administration of the other treasuries.[42] All the *sadar*, *tehsil*, and *nizāmat* treasuries consisted of two branches, first was that of accounts which was under the charge of the Accountant, and the second, namely cash and stamps, which was under the charge of the treasurer. The money deposited in these treasuries was regarded as the secret deposit and also a personal appange of the ruling family.[43]

An efficient system for the receipt and payment of money in the treasuries had been devised by Maharaja Gulāb Singh, to which necessary improvements were made by Ranbir Singh. It was so improvised that all the cash realised by the revenue collecting departments and other receipts of government dues were paid into the nearest treasury as soon as possible. For the purpose of deposit of money a decument called an *arz-i-irsāl* was filed, one copy of which was to be returned to the payee as a receipt while the second portion was to be sent along-

39. *G.A.P.D.*, *File* SAR (J).
40. *G.A.P.D. File No. 22 of 1891*; File No. 21 of 1892, SAR (J).
41. *P.D. File No. 304/D-66* of 1908; *Annual Admn. Report*, 1895-96, p. 50.
42. *Proced. of the Meeting of the State Council*, 1st July, 1905, p. 3.
43. Logan, R., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

with daily or monthly copies of the cash account and the third portion of the *arz-i-irsāl* was retained in the treasury for the purpose of record.[44] The price for stamps was paid into treasury without *arz-i-irsāl* and the money so realised was credited to the head "Stamp Receipts" which was kept separately in the treasury.[45] As salt was procured officially from the Northern India Salt Revenue Department of the Punjab Government, hence the revenue collected under the head "Salt Revenue, Punjab" could only be deposited in the *Sadar* treasuries on the *arz-i-irsāl* of the Northern India Salt Revenue Department, Khewrah, to which also daily and monthly consolidated receipts were submitted.[46]

Payments from the treasuries were properly regulated, recorded and audited. Gulāb Singh had kept a tight control on all types of payments which, however, could not have been large as salary payments were usually made in the form of service *jāgirs*, and the remaining made as a charge on certain creditors of the government or on *sāhūkārs*. The cases of cash payments were very few and usually originated with the ruler in the form of orders or *irshāds*. When Maharaja Ranbir Singh introduced cash salary system in 1885 treasuries were required to make frequent periodical payments, which were either final payments or advances. These were made either on behalf of the central government or provincial governments. The greater part of payments for civil and public works departments were of a simple character and final.[47] Payments were claimed in the form of bills or *hundis* or cheques. When a bill was presented to be encashed at a treasury it was checked by the accountant and laid before the treasury officer who issued the authority to pay if bill was found admissible. The treasurer then paid the required amount across the counter, and obtained the payees' receipt as a proof of payment.[48] The treasury officers had to check all palpable errors and he could decline payments of all claims not in regular order or not covered by the regulations. In a few cases the officers were allowed to have fixed advances out of which they could make small and casual payments. Such officers had to render account of the advances drawn from the treasury, at the time they had to recoup the advances when

44. *Ibid.*

45. *J & K Treasury Code*, 1908, pp. 21-22.

46. *P. D. File No. 304/D-66 of 1908*; *File No. 36/B-II of 1910.*, SAR (J).

47. *Pol. Deptt., C. S. R. E. R. File No. 20* of 1904; No. 182/A-19 of 1908-SAR (J).

48. *Pol. & Gen. Deptt., C. S. O. E. R. File No. 31* of 1891, *File No. 182/A-19 of 1907*, SAR (J).

it got depleted by issue. The treasurer was also required to make entry of the payment in the appropriate register meant for the purpose.[49] In case of any doubt about the correctness of the bill the treasury officer could put down his objections and return the bill enclosing the objection slip to the claimant.

Thus a comprehensive system of receipts and payments seems to have been devised. All such transactions were recorded and all entries were required to be periodically audited and cash balances were physically verified. Thus an accounting system existed in the state during Ranbir Singh's reign and was known as *Daftar-i-Diwāni*. But the system was incomplete insufficient and imperfect.[50]

There was no organised machinery to control the department.[51] The system, by which the accounts of the different departments were kept, was a mixture of English and native systems. No rules had been framed by which the officials could have guided themselves. In short, we can conclude that no account rules of any kind were in force in the state during his times.[52]

The accounts were kept in Persian language frequently on loose sheets of papers as if they had no importance. These accounts were received at irregular intervals by the *wazir-i-wazārat* from *tehsildārs* and also from the officials.[53] But *wazir-i-wazārat*, too like *tehsildārs*, used to send these accounts at irregular intervals, normally once a month, to the *Daftar-i-Diwāni* through the *wazir-i-ālā* or governor.

The accounts prepared by different departments were not trustworthy. Sometimes mistakes of very serious nature were not uncommon and consequently the Accounts Department of the State could never prepare an accurate statement of balance sheet of the state for any particular year.[54] But if it prepared a balance sheet, however, the contents of the sheets were either fictitious or impossible of realisation.[55] The Accounts Department did not concern itself with any transactions nor did it formally report to it. It was simply an office where the trustworthy acts of different departments were recorded.[56]

49. *Memo* dated 16th Chet. S. 1846, *Kashmir Revenue Circulars*, 1895, p. 37.
50. *For Deptt. Sec. E., Progs. Nos. 100-105* of March, 1892, NAI.
51. *Gen. & Pol. Deptt., C.S.O.E.R., File No. 22 of 1891*, SAR (J).
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Gen. & Pol. Deptt., C.S.E.E.R., File No. 23* of 1891, SAR (J).
54. *Ibid.*
55. *S.M.M.P.*, 1890-91, p. 224.
56. *Logan*, R., p. 10.

So far as the salaries of the state officials were concerned, the same state of affairs also prevailed there. Besides, the pay of the servants of the state was in arrears for several months, and the pay of the Imperial Service Corporation was also in arrear because of the temporary maintenance and maladministration of the department.

Relations of army deserters were no longer held accountable for the soidiers' disloyalty; leave, pensions and other benefits were introduced for public service officers alongwith reorganisation of the account system.[57] The public servants were granted benefit of casual leave and special leave also. The State holidays were also observed on the following days : *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Id-ul-Zuhā*, *Sahab-i-Qadar*, *Shab-i-Barāt*, *Baisākhi*, *Nirjalā Ekādashi*, *Lohri*, *Diwāli*, *Rakhri*, *Rām Navmi*, *Besant Panchmi*, *Janamāshtami*, *Māghi*, *Shiv Rātri*, *Anant Chaudash* and *Holi*.[58]

Maharaja Gulāb Singh had liked to shift to Srinagar for some time during the summer months, but Ranbir Singh seems to have instituted the practice of the move of the Maharaja's court and offices to Srinagar every year and sometimes less often, for a few months "partly to avoid the heat of the lower land, and partly that the affairs of Kashmir may be looked into more closely, and that the people of distant countries may have a shorter journey to reach the court if business draws them to it".[59] He also started the periodical publication of reports giving factual information concerning the administration of the state and the progress being made by the people in various walks of life. It became a two yearly affair and the fist bi-ennial administration report in Urdu was published for the year 1870-71 and became a regular features afterwards. The idea was suggested by Sir Henry Durand, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in a letter of 28 September, 1870. After the affairs in Kashmir Valley had been peacefully settled, it began to draw large number of travellers from Europe, traders, British officers, civil and military, serving the government of India. The affairs of this state were therefore much more subjected to criticism than any other native state in India. "Moreover, surrounded as Kashmir is by Mohammadan States, and populating as it does a Muhammadan population, travellers and visitors are not likely to hear from them most favourable account of

57. Palit, D.K., *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, Dehra Dun, 1971, p. 92.
58. *File No. 1174 of S. 1941* (A.D. 1884), Persian Records, SAR (J).
59. Drew Frederick, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, Delhi, 1971, p. 62.

your Highness' Government."[60] Durand's letter was accompanied by some cuttings from the *Friend of India* news paper, containing some adverse criticism made of Ranbir Singh's frontier policy and also of his administration. The Lieutenant Governor, had therefore suggested that "as a matter of self-defence against ignorant Kashmiris, Kashmir Government has the strongest reason for preparing such an annual review and giving it wide publicity.[61]

The Maharaja entrused the task of preparing bi-ennial reports to his Prime Minister, *Diwān* Kirpā Rām, bearing full information about the State administration, and such reports have been published regularly thereafter. These reports also gave the administration an occasion to take stock of its achievement and failings and to plan future reforms and developments.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign was clouded by recurring human and natural calamities in the Kashmir Valley. In 1872 there was an outbreak between the Sunnis and Shiās, "Apparently on sectarian basis, but in reality on economic grounds."[62]

The Franco-Prussan war of 1870 resulted in the loss of French market for Kashmiri *shawl* leading to a severe depression in that industry. The *shawl*-weavers, who were mostly Sunnis, were hit very hard. Their resentment was violently directed against the rich manufacturers and traders who belonged mostly to the Shiā sect. They were attacked and looted and their houses were gutted by the poor Sunnis. The disturbances, however, were put down and the Maharaja gave three lakhs of rupees in compensation to the Shiās.

The ghastly famine of 1877-78 visited the Kashmir Valley and darkened the last years of Ranbir Singh's reign. Owing to the excessive rains much of the harvest was washed away. The misery of the people became unbearable. Whole villages were in ruins, fields were deserted and trade became extinct. The government rose to the occasion although food-stuffs could not be easily imported from the Punjab for want of any motorable road between Rāwalpindi and the Valley. The Maharaja, however, ordered grain to be purchased worth a lakh of rupees from the Panjab. Besides, an *irshād* was issued saying that "Any one who imported foodgrains to the value of Rs. 20,000 would be rewarded Rs. 1,000 as *khilat* and will receive the pleasure of His

60. *Friend of India* (newspaper), dated 31 July, 1879, about alleged Kashmir killings, *File No. 215 of A.D. 1879*, and *No. 432*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

61. *Ibid.*

62. Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir*, p. 637.

Highness". Some grain arrived from Sialkot and people were much relieved of starvation. The grain had cost the State Rs. 15.90 per *kharwār* whereas it was sold to the people at a rate of Rs. 4.25 only. Free *langers* were also started. About 1,95,714 maunds of grain were imported and the State met a loss of about Rs. 33,64,200.[63] Those who emigrated during the famine were induced to return. Soon the ill effects of the famine were removed and life in the valley returned to normal. Earthquakes occurred in 1863. 1878 and 1884 whereas cholera broke out in 1857-58, 1872, 1875-76 and 1879 and fires caused a devastation in 1875 and 1878.

Section B

Judicial Administration

"The prime function of any government is the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice between the state and its citizens"—W.F. Willoughby (*Principals of Judicial Administration*, 1929).

"He (Ranbir Singh) felt himself responsible to God for the care of his people".—Sir Richard Temple.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh inherited a system of justice which was at once quite medieval, insufficient and arbitrary. The rule of law and justice was virtually unknown to the people from the days of Afghān and Sikh rule when the court of justice in Kashmir was just "a mockery", so that no appeal could be made from it and "it judges by no laws."[64] During these oppressive rules justice had become a commercial commodity so that "those who could pay at any time could get out of jail, while the poor lived and died there almost without hope".[65] Maharaja Gulāb Singh, who got Jammu and Kashmir State in 1846, could make practically no change in the then existing judicial administration due to his pre-occupation in the consolidation and organisation of his new charge which posed multifarious problems endangering the very existance of his supremacy. The border tribes of Dards in Gilgit and various disgruntled elements within his State conspiring with the British authorities, engrossed his entire attention and energy at the exclusion of any reforming endeavours in the field of justice. Consequently,

63. Kaul, G.L. *Six Millenium Review of Kashmir*, 1969, p. 87.
64. Kaul, Pandit Saligram, *the Biography of Maharaja Gulāb Singh*, Srinagar, Sept. 1923, pp. 236.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

no special law courts to administer justice could be set up. "Neither was there any code of procedure for guidance, nor any trained person to preside over law courts".[66] Any person holding a responsible post, whether government or semi-government could be deputed to adjudicate in matters civil and criminal. "Even an illiterate person" noted for truth and fair play, was considered fit to administer justice.[67] This however, had been a universal practice in all the territories of the Punjab and the north-west India which had been successively held by Afghān and Sikh rulers, Jammu and Kashmir being no exception.

Maharaja Gulāb Singh, however, was keenly aware of a monarch's over-whelming responsibility for dispensing even-handed and prompt justice, though his conception was somewhat medieval and *shāstric*, most suited to a state in formation and afflicted with frequent turmoils. "His justice was rude but it was expeditious. He toured the state often and was relentless in his punishment of corrupt and tyrannical officials. His summary methods in dealing with them made him a terror to the tribe of petty functionaries."[68] There were no formal institutions of justice comparable to the modern conception of judiciary. The Maharaja was considered to be the law-making agency, but the prevailing customary law and legal practices were followed, and in addition to the common sense there were the Hindu and Muhammadan laws and "the orders of the Maharaja, which may be called the law of equity". There were no legal advisers. The officials were not required to record statements and judgements. Cases were usually lodged, committed, represented and decided verbally.[69] The *thānādārs* and *kotwāls* maintained public peace and detected crimes in their respective jurisdiction. The *kārdārs*, whose main duty was to collect land revenue, also disposed of petty civil and criminal cases. And at the highest end of the ledder of justice was the Maharaja himself, the highest court of justice[70] and appeal, "always accessible and ready to listen to complaints."[71] He seemed to subscribe to the prevailing legal assumption that the ruler was only a public servant and that a divine decree had placed all the resources of the

66. Kaul, Pandit Shaligra, *The Biography of Maharaja Gulāb Singh, Srinagar*, Sept. 1923, p. 236.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

68. Panikkar, K.M., *The Founding of Kashmir State*, London, 1953, pp. 148-149.

69. Kaul, Pandit Shaligram, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

71. *Ibid.*

State in his hands for use in the public benefit. Gulāb Singh was therefore a benevolent ruler in practice who believed that it was his sacred duty to administer justice.[72] He therefore decided cases and heard appeals assiduously, and held his *darbār* for the purpose till late in night under the light of torches. Anyone not satisfied with the decisions given by *thānādārs, kārdārs* and other officials, was at liberty to submit an appeal to the Maharaja. He was not required to pay any court fee for presenting his case.[73] He had only to stand in the court-yard of the *Mandi* (or gathering place) with his hand raised. The Maharaja knew by practice that he was anxious to see him with some complaints, so he would send for him and listen to him with patience and sympathy till he has announced his decision in the case. It was widely known that Gulāb Singh never lost his patience while hearing a case[74] and one could get his ears even in a crowed by shouting '*Mahārāj ! arz hai*', that is 'Maharaj! a petition.'[75]

This easy accessibility of the Maharaja, who never commercialised justice as preceding rulers had done in Kashmir, must have served as a deterrent to partial justice in lower courts. Hence those charged with the administration of justice tried their best to dispense true justice because they knew well that if an appeal was submitted to the Maharaja against their orders, they "shall get a bad name" and they shall as well as be exposed to the danger of incurring the displeasure of Maharaja", who was not interested in laws and procedures but wanted justice to be administered, so fairly in the very beginning that no party might submit to him an appeal.[76] He toured the State often, and sometimes in cognito, and was restless in his punishment of corrupt and tyrannical officials,[77] which made him universally feared by the people as well as the state functionaries. This judicial system, however, had no inherent good in it and depended entirely on the benevolent nature of the Maharaja, his love of justice and his high conception of public morality which led him to take stern measures of repression. The punishments imposed were execution, amputation of limbs and the flaying alive of thieves and the net result

72. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Kaul, G.L., *Kashmir Then and Now*, Srinagar, 1967, p. 70.
75. Drew, Frederick, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, reprint, Delhi, 1972, p. 44.
76. Kaul, Pandit Shaligram, *op.cit.*, p. 240 Cf. Dr. Hari Om, *Judicial Administration in the Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1885-1947, (Unpublished thesis), p. 6.
77. Panikkar, K.M., *op.cit*, p. 155.

was a very scanty crop of crimes and wide spread prevalence of law and order throughout the length and breadth of his territories. He, however, got little time to organise his administration, including judiciary, on a scientific and humanitarian lines which could incorporate his own ideal of universal, cheap and promt justice. The onous of achieving this tremendous task fell to the lot of Ranbir Singh who, like a true Hindu ruler, considered dispensing of justice his foremost duty as his father had done.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was therefore anxious to improve the judicial system which according to Oriental conception of polity was the basis of all good government and the keystone of a monarch's edifice of fame and success. He was keenly alive to the fact that the administrative machinery of the State was suffering from several ills, and without an efficient, cheap and speedy justice the lot of the subject people could not be improved. His anxiety for improving the lot of the masses is fully reflected in his Ashokan assertion that "he felt himself responsible to God for the care of his people".[78] He repeatedly expressed his anxiety to Richard Temple that he was endeavouring to improve the judicial system and that he had doctors of Hindu and Mohammedan law in the work.[79] In all earnestness he took in hand the reorganisation of the entire administrative system in order to break off from this crude counterpart his father had inherited from the Sikhs.

He started with dividing the administration of the State into various departments,[80] including *Daftar-i-Nizāmat*, *Daftar-i-Diwāni*, and *Daftar-i-Jangi*.[81] The administration of justice was placed under the *Nizāmat* Department. The re-organisation of the entire government involved a considerable effort and attention on the part of the ruler who seems to have been more than a match for these problems. The most pressing needs of the re-organisation of judicial system were the framing of codification of laws and the establishment of a succession of regular courts of justice with well defined powers, and finally the laying down of judicial procedure. This also required the appointment of petty officers at various convenient places who could dispose of petty civil and criminal cases.

78. Temple Richard, *Journals kept in Hyderabad and Kashmir. etc.* Vol. VII.

79. Kaul, G.L., *Kashmir Then and Now*, p. 70.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 103; *A brief note on the Jammu and Kashmir State*, Ranbir Govt. Press., Jammu, 1927, p. 2.

81. Kaul, G.L., *op.cit.*, p. 103.

The latter need was at once fulfilled by the appointment of *chaklādārs* at every police station for the purpose.

Codification of Laws, Judicial Procedure

For the first time in the history of the State, the civil and criminal laws were codified. Initially a penal code was drawn upon the lines of Macaulay's Code.[82] which contained one hundred Sections only.[83] It was published in a bilingual treatise, in Dogri and Persian languages and was called *Ranbir Dand Bidhi*. The Maharaja also caused, after due deliberations, a criminal code to be prepared consisting of 203 sections with punishment for each offence, differing in spirit very little from the Indian Penal Code.[84] Similarly, a civil code called *Zābita-i-Diwāni* was also drawn up and published. A separate code for the State Forces, entitled *Jangi Ranbir Dand Bidhi*, was also promulgated. This complex of codes with later amendments, still forms the nucleus of law and judicial procedure operating in the State.[85]

High Court

To place the administration of justice on a sound footing a high court with defined powers was established in the State in 1877.[86] 'The Jammu and Kashmir Civil Courts Regulation' of that year defined the powers of the High Court (*Adālat-ul-Āliā*) which was created the same year, and laid down that for the purpose of all enactments in force, this court would be deemed to be the highest court of appeal or revision, subject to the control and judicial powers exercised by the Maharaja, and that "the general superintendence and control over all the other Civil Courts shall be vested in, and all such courts shall be subordinate, to the High Court."[87]

Jury System

Jury system was introduced in 1880 in the City Courts of Srinagar and Jammu. The Maharaja approved a panel of names of distinguished citizens, commanding public respect. The term of appointment of a

82. Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir, op. cit.* p., 667.
83. Kaul, G.L., *op. cit.*, p. 103.
84. Bates, C.E., *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 97.
85. Nargis, Narsing Das, *Tārikh-i-Dorgā Des*, Jammu, p. 667.
86. Hari Om Dr., *Judicial Administration in the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1885-1947.*
87. Kaul, G.L. *op. cit.*, p. 105.

jury was three months and during the period of their appointment they were treated as State officials and given regular salary. The City Courts were delegated powers to decide all original cases, both civil and criminal, pertaining to the respective cities (excepting cases of serious crimes). The cases involving the personal laws of the Hindus and the Mohammadans, were decided in accordance with local customs, the *Dharam Shāstra* and the *Sarah Mohammadi*. For this purpose a *mufti* or a *dharam shāstri* of repute was also associated. The City Court of Jammu had, besides the presiding officer, the two jurists, one being a Hindu and the other Muslim, who constituted the Court to decide the cases. The City Court at Srinagar had, besides the presiding officer, four public men, one kashmiri *pandit* and three Muslims (including one Shiā).[88]

Rules for court fees, stamp duties and registration were also framed and sanctioned by the Maharaja under the 'Stamp Regulation' on 1st Baisakh, S. 1925[89] (13 April, 1869). An *Āin* for the printing of stamp paper at the Vidya Vilas Press, Jammu, was sanctioned in A.D. 1874.[90]

Law Courts

By 1885 various types of courts had come into being with clearly defined powers and jurisdiction. Two *sadar adālats*, one each at Jammu and Srinagar, had been established. This was the chief court in the province, presided over by a judge, assisted by a *nāib* and the ordinary establishment of a British Court,[91] The judges of the *sadar-adālats* were subordinate to the governor of provinces, whose advice was always taken in the decision of every important case. The jurisdiction of these courts was confined to civil and criminal cases only, the revenue cases were hard by the *hākim-i-ālia* or the governors of the two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. It was the duty of the *sadar* judge to go on circuit hearing appeals from the local courts, supervising the registers of the civil and criminal cases, and inspecting the

88. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*, for S. 1737-38 (1880-81 A.D.), p. 18.

89. *File No. 375*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

90. *File No. 665 of S. 1931*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

91. Bates, Charles Ellison, *Gazetteer of Kashmir, etc.* reprint Delhi, 1980 p. 96.

work of village head men who served as the police in detecting and reporting cases.[92]

Courts in Kashmir Province

The following were, according to C.E. Bates the different grades of courts in the province of Kashmir.[93]

1. *Tehsildārs*, hearing civil suits upto Rs. 100 in value, and empowered in criminal cases to punish with imprisonment they may extent to one month. The total number of *tehsildārs* at present in Kashmir is twenty-four.

2. *Wazirs* or district officers, each assisted by one revenus (*nāib-i-māl*) and one judicial assistant (*nāib-i-adālat*) hearing civil suits upto Rs. 1,000 in value and in criminal cases empowered to punish with imprisonment that may extend to six months, and on the appellate side hearing appeals from the orders of the *tehsildārs*. There are at present five *wazirs* in Kashmir presiding over the districts of *Shahr-i-Khās* or the capital, Anantnāg, Patan, Kamraj, Shopiān and one at Muzaffarābād, which district lies outside the valley.

3. The city court, hearning civil suits upto Rs. 5,000 in value, and in criminal cases empowered to punish with imprisonment for two years. This court has no appellate jurisdiction.

4. The *sadar adālat*, hearing civil suits without limitation in value and in criminal cases empowered to punish with imprisonment for five years without Maharaja's previous sanction. One the appelate side this courts hears appeals from the decision of the *wazirs* or district officers and from the city courts.

Suits having no money value, such as suits of divorce or for the restitution of conjugal rights and the like, are instituted in first instance in the district courts or the city courts, wherever the cause of action arise or the defendent may dwell at that time.[94]

The rule that every suit must be instituted in the court of first instance, i.e. the lowest court competent to try the issue, obtains here, though not very strictly observed. In cases involving the Hindu and Muhammadan laws the authorities were the *Shāster* and the *Sharā*, but the majority of the text books of the five schools of Hindu law had no force in Kashmir.

92. Hari Om, Dr. *op. cit.*, p. 7.
93. Bates, C.E., (ed), *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 96.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Courts in Jammu Province

In Jammu province there were seven districts courts in 1872. Each of these was presided over by the respective district officer (Wazir Wazarat). These were located at Jammu City, Jasrotā, Rāmnagar, Udhampur, Riāsi Nowsherā and Manāwar. The number of *tehsil* courts under them varied corresponding the number of *tehsils* in each district; four *tehsil* courts in Jammu district, two in Jasrotā, four in Rāmnagar, six in Udhampur, two in Riāsi, three in Nowsherā and three in Manāwar district. In 1875, the Udhampur district, which was the largest in areas, was split into two and a bew *wazārat* (district) was created at Kashtwār, raising the number of district courts to eight in Jammu.

Position in 1877 and after

In 1877, there were twenty-five upper courts in addition to the *tehsildārs*, courts, as per detail given below:

1. One high court which heard appeals.
2. Two *sadar* (chief) courts, one each at Jammu and Srinagar.
3. Fourteen district or *wazārat* courts, six in Kashmir and eight in Jammu province.
4. Three district or *wazārat* courts in the frontier districts of Leh, Skardū and Gilgit.
5. Two city courts one each for the city of Jammu and Srinagar.
6. One *dāgh-i-shawl* court in Srinagar to hear and settle the cases of *shawl* weavers.
7. One *panchayat* court at Sirnagar in which petty cases were decided by the representatives of the people. It was composed of eight members, four Hindus and four Muslims, who drew their pay from the treasury.

There was a law secretary who advised on the framing of laws and rules. In each *wazārat* (district), besides the *wazir* (district officer), there were two *nāibs*, one dealing with civil and criminal cases and the other with revenue cases.[95]

95. *Bi-ennial Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir* for S. 1932-34 (1875-77).

Mixed Courts

Before 1870, the Maharaja's court exercised full jurisdiction over all persons visiting his territories. But the commercial Treaty of 1870 establishing a free Highway for the purpose of encouraging trade between Central Asia and British India, made a fresh arrangement. The settlement of road disputes between traders, carriers and travellers using the Treaty Road in which either of the parties or both of them were subjects of the British Government or any foreign State, was placed in the hands of the Joint Commissioners, one appointed by the Maharaja and the other by the British Government. The State laws, however, applied as also the stamp duty was credited to the State Treasury.

In 1872, a mixed court of British and State officials was set up for the decision of civil suits between European British subjects and their servants on the one hand and the subjects of the Maharaja on the other. The first judges of this court were Mr. Wynne, the British Officer on Special Duty and *Bābū* Nilāmber Mukerjee, the Chief Judge at Srinagar. This new arrangement remained till the end of the region of Ranbir Singh.

Maharaja's Court or Darbar

Above the *sadar adālat* and the High Court stood the Maharaja himself. In theory he was the source of law and the supreme dispenser of justice. Maharaja Ranbir Singh took keen interest in performing this duty. The Maharaja used to hold *darbār* twice daily and to hold open court for hearing petitions and appeals against decision of lower courts. "Thus seated", wrote Frederick Drew,[96] "the Maharaja looks out down on the petitioners who stand in the square. Each coming in succession according to his petition previously written on stamped papers and given in, is called on, stands in front with hands closed in the attitude of application, while the prayer is read out". "The subjects of the petitions are wonderfully varied, perhaps an employee will ask leave to return to his home, or to take his mother's ashes to the Ganges, next may be a criminal, brought to receive final sentences, then a poor woman with face veild will come to complain of some grievances or other, or a dispute about a contract of marriage will have to be decided. These are listened to patiently enough, and on the simpler

96. Drew, Frederick, *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, Oriental Publishers, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 65, 48.

cases the decision is given at once and written on the petition.[97] The civil and criminal cases had usually been previously enquired into by judicial officers in the courts of first instance and perhaps have been adjudicated on by the Appeal Court of Jammoo or of Srinagar. But it was open to suits to try their luck with the Maharaja himself. The Maharaja usually did his best to get at the truth, and sharply cross-examined the witnesses. He would frequently refer the matter to the magistrate for investigation, in which case it was again brought before him for final decision.[98] Further, the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir during 1871, wrote, "Nor is access to the Maharaja to be obtained only in office hours for even during my short visit to Jammu, I several times saw him stopped in the streets, and in such cases he has inquired into the circumstances of the petitioner on the spot or else told him when to attend for a hearing. There is a general feeling among the subjects that in the presence of the Maharaja they can get justice. In all cases of imprisonment for more than five years a district order from the Maharaja is required. In the capital case the Maharaja is aided by a jury which is said to vary in number from 20 to 30, and is chosen by lot from a body of hundred men whom the complaint and the accused, respectively, name half and in whom the non-official element is represented alike with the officials. The case has to be heard three times, the astrologer deciding the auspicious day for each hearing. The opinion of each member is given separately, the Maharaja expressing his last. If on each occasion the verdict is unanimous against the accused sentence of death is pronounced."[99] This cumbrous procedure appears to have been there owing of the Maharaja's unwillingness to award capital punishment. As a matter of fact, executions rarely took place in the dominion. Nevertheless, other punishments awarded were very servere; whipping was awarded in some cases.[100]

Suits having no money value such as suits for divorce or for restitution of conjugal rights and the like were instituted in the first instance, in the district or city courts, according to their place of occurrence or the residence of the defendant. There was a rule that every case must be instituted in the court of first instance, viz., the lowest

97. *Ibid.*

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49 Cf. *Statesman*, 'Editorial Note, Hundred Years Ago' (January 22, 1876), dated 22.1.76, p. 6.

99. *Memorendum on Kashmir and some adjacent territories*, by Charles Girdlestone, B.C.S., Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir.

100. Hari Om, Dr., *op. cit.*, p. 11.

court competent to try the case.[101] But it was not always strictly followed. However, it has to be admitted that justice administered during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh was rather cheap and inexpensive.[102] It required only a stamp of half a rupee to have a case heard by the Maharaja himself.[103]

Commenting on punishments inflicted during Ranbir Singh's reign Major J. Bachar, Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir in 1859 wrote: "The punishment of death is rare as in all Hindoo governments, but there is a jail where criminals are hard-worked, pounding half decayed rice in an unhealthy position on the lake, where the mortality must be great. They are also banished to distant forts of Leh and Iskardū."[104]

Ranbir Singh's personal interest and participation in all endeavours for establishing an orderly administration and improving law and order conditions in the State were successful to a large extent. His efforts for organising judicial system on sound principles were, however, crowned with only partial success. It appears from all available sources that his aim of dispensing fair and speedy justice was not achieved, primarily owing to the absence of trained persons and uniform laws and procedures. One hundred sections of criminal laws and a simple code of civil laws were not sufficient to meet the requirements of the people. The punishment of crime was determined by the Penal Code which left open to the judges a wide field of discretion. The magistrates were empowered to take cognizance of any act not specified in the Code. This gave them ample opportunity to punish people for disobedience of authority as well as to settle personal score.[105] Further every officer of State considered himself privileged to use force and violence, and to inflict and to receive fines and keep persons in confinement.[106] Sentences of imprisonment were frequently commuted to fines, and fines were mostly usurped by the magistrates as a source of their own enrichment. Public servants guilty of bribery and extortion were let off with small fines, which

101. *Ibid.*

102. Kaul, G.L. *op. cit.*, p. 104, Bamzai, P.N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 667.

103. Bamzai, P.N.K. *op. cit.*, p. 667.

104. *For Deptt. Progs. of 9.3.1860, No. 42, Despatch No. 384 A*, from Major J. Bachar Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir, to Sec. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

105. *For Deptt. Progs., February 1890, Nos. 67-69*, Secret F., confidential note by Bhag Ram.

106. *Ibid.*

were often left unrealized.[107] Such a state affairs bred corruption for which there was an unlimited scope for want of proper check and control. The chief justices were required to exercise general superintendence over the working of the subordinate courts and to attend to their proceedings, to inspect them and to see that the judgements passed were fair and impartial. But they rarely carried out this duty,[103] and the *moffusil* courts were left practically to themselves.[109] Consequently, cases in *moffusil* courts were not disposed of promptly and fairly. The presiding officers left recording of dispositions or judgements to ignorant and irresponsible clerks. The result was "incomplete trials, ridiculously absurd judgements or decisions, and "an open door to great corruption and oppression."[110]

Much carelessness was observed in dealing with criminal cases, and appeals in these cases were not properly heard and determined. The powers of criminal courts were undefined. *Jāgirdars* exercised civil and criminal powers without maintaining regular offices and often defied the police.[111] *Tehsildārs* and other revenue officials, sentenced people to fines without recording the proceedings and these fines were used as a source of private enrichment.[112] The entire judicial work was in the hands of irresponsible clerks, who taking advantage of the ignorance or interference of their superiors, were often instrumental in the miscarriage of justice.[113]

Administration of civil justice also suffered from similar drawbacks. The only law in force in the state was "a simple code of civil procedure."[114] The work of the courts was carried out in a dialatory manner and civil cases were decided most carelessly in the absence of any properly laid down law. Thus the people had no faith in ordinary courts with the result that even a petty case "was vigorously carried to the highest tribunal, viz., the court of the sovereign ruler.[115] The power of the courts were not clearly defined. Stamp

107. *Ibid.*

108. *For Deptt. Progs., February 1899, Nos. 295-326,* Secret F., Col. Nisbet to Secretary to the Govt. of India, No. 15-L, dated 29.1.1899.

109. *Annual Reports, J & K Govt.*, 1889-90, p. 70.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

111. *Annual Report, J & K Govt.*, 1889-90, p. 81.

112. *For Deptt. Progs, Feb. 1981, Nos. 295-326,* Secret F., Col. Nisbet to Secretary No. 15-L, Date 29.1.1890.

113. *Annual Report,* J & K Govt., 1889-90, p. 73.

114. *For Deptt. Progs. Feb. 1891, Nos. 295-326, op. cit.*

115. *For Deptt. of Progs. Feb. 1890, Nos. 67-69,* Secret F. Confidential note by Bhag Ram.

laws were grossly imperfect. Civil suits were allowed to the instituted in the courts of *tehsildārs* without payment of the stamp duty, while such stamp duties were frequently realised and were "seldom brought to book."[116]

Cumbersome delay in the dispensation of justice and interference were evils of great magnitude. Judges were not at all concerned with delay.[117] It often took a petty case four or five years to be finally disposed off.[118] The attitude of the police also added to the evils of delay and corruption. They had their own way of investigating offences.[119] When offence being reported it depended on the pleasure of the police officer whether he would make an enquiry or not. At the same time it was a wretched and useless body and wanting in the detective ability and perseverence in investigation.[120] Judicial Courts did not work independently or with self-respect.[121] Influential men in society then, as now, frequently influenced "the decision of these courts by writing letters and adopting similar other means,[122] when their friends and relations were involved in a civil litigation.[123] The higher officials also weilded their influence on the course of justice, and in fact, the courts were at the mercy of the executive and often gave decisions against their conscience.[124]

In some spheres the Government tried to weed out corruption, particularly where payments by the State were involved. The accountants were cautioned against taking bribe from persons who had to draw money from the State; and this was also proclaimed that "Whosoever gives information as to bribe-taking and establishing it against culprit shall receive a reward of rupees fifty."[125]

The Courts had no doubt lost confidence to a large extent, but Ranbir Singh's personal interest and perseverence in the field was such that a large number of complaints, even of petty cases, found their way to the sovereign himself. This easy accessibility of the

116. *Annual Report of J & K Govt.*, 1889-90, pp. 69-70.
117. Kaul, Shaligram, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
118. Hari Om, Dr. *op. cit.* p. 14.
119. *Annual Report of J & K Govt., 1889-90*, p. 80.
120. *Annual Report, 1893-94*, p. 130.
121. *For Deptt. Progs. Feb. 1890, Nos. 67-69*, Secret F. Confidential noted by Bhag Ram.
122. Ghose, D.K. *Kashmir in Transition*, Calcutta, 1975, p. 40.
123. Bose, J.C., *Kashmir and Its Princes*, Calcutta, 1889, p. 14.
124. *Annual Report, 1889-90*, p. 69.
125. *Official Persian Proclamation, of 15th Asuj, S.1942*, (27 Sept. 1885), quoted by J.C. Bose in *Kashmir and its Princes*, Calcutta, 1889, p. 14.

Maharaja for purpose of appeal against decision of lower courts, served as a deterrent for unjustified manoeuverings and substantial corruption in judiciary. In the very first course of judicial reforms and reorganisation, some spectacular success could not be anticipated, and whatever defects in the system are traceable during eighties of the nineteenth century J & K State, can find convenient parallels in the judicial system introduced in the contemporary British Provinces, and even Indian judicial system of today. The delay corruption and interference are as great evils of the system now as these had been in Ranbir Singh's time. It is not the multi-tiered heirarchy of courts which counts, as we have today; it should be the cheap, prompt and impartial justice free of corruption, which should be a thing of pride, and we have no better claim to it even now than they had during that reign of whole-sale reforms and reorganisation of administration which forms the basis of the present administration in the State. A politically sound society evinces its integrity not in myriads of judicial cases decided, but in a very scarce incidence of crimes; and "it appears that incidence of crimes was low"[126] during the period which could be attributed to the mild disposition of the people, and the fear of being apprehended in the valley hemmed in by high snow-clad mountains acted as a deterrent for the criminals.[127] Other causes for this condition may be:

(a) The extreme severity of the punishment inflicted in the time of Maharaja Gulāb Singh;
(b) The extent to which the responsibility of the local officials and the village headmen were enforced in cases of undetected crimes.[128]

The *khair-khāwāi* custom also helped lessen corruption in administration. According to this old custom influential persons could inform the government about the conduct of public servants. These complaints were instituted in criminal courts without any reference to the department in which the accused was employed.[129] Besides, some caste guilds, like the *kahārs*, had been given the right of trying

126. Sufi, G.M.D., *op. cit.*, p. 797.
127. Hari Om, Dr., *op. cit.*, p. 22.
128. *For Deptt. of Progs. No. 271 of 1874*, Political A., H.Le. P. Wynne, Special officer on duty in Kashmir to the Secretary to the Govt. of Punjab. Quoted from the *Annual Report No. 207 of 29.12.1873*, p. 371.
129. *Annual Report, 1889-90*, p. 81.

all cases among their members. Such decisions, based on factual knowledge, and free from procedural intricacies, were expected to cater promptly to the judicial needs to such guilds. The caste leaders had a strong hold upon the litigants and dealt with them as they liked.[130] Brahmans were practically exempted from punishment, and they did no worse than the Europeans who were above the jurisdiction of the State Courts.[131] English travellers were expected to observe the laws of this state while travelling through it. However, in their cases punishment from the realms of the Maharaja would follow the crime of wilful sacrilage, and it is on record that the privilaged English did not behave better than the privilaged and venerated Brahmans. Col. Nisbet's assertion that "Even the Penal Code was a wretched specimen of barbarity and oppression" and that "the administration of criminal justice was a mere farce", carries no substantial weight when we give due regard to Ranbir Singh's earnest endeavours for a better administration and clean judiciary, which suffered only for want of trained personnel or old customs which die hard.

There were some peculier religious and social situations prevalent during that century which required special consideration in judicial codes. Cows were held in high regard. No punishment was spared for causing the death of a cow. The land and property of the killer of a cow was confiscated and he himself was sent to exile or was sentenced to imprisonment for life.[132] Very often a man convicted of cow killing was "boiled in oil and then hung from a hook which was fixed on to a pale in a public place."[133]

Similarly, adultary with the widow was punished with great severity particularly if the woman was related to the adulterer, and a complaint of adultary could be ledged by any one whether or not he was related to her.[134] The police could make the strictest enquiry whenever a widow was found to be pregnant. The police used to disgrace the woman by an open exhaustive enquiry into her conduct

130. Bose, J.C., *Kashmir and Its Princes*, Calcutta, 1889, pp. 19-20.

131. Col. Nisbet, who was allergic to everything native and seemed to have closed his eyes on the large scale corruption in British Courts in India. Opines that Brahamans "naturally used this exemption to their own advantage" *Cf. for Deptt. Progs., Feb. 1891, Nos. 295-326,* Secret F. No. 15-L of 29.1.1890.

132. *For Deptt. Progs. Feb. 1891, Nos, 295-325, op. cit.*

133. Biscose, Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Secley Service & Co.

134. *Confidential Note by Pandit Bhag Ram, op. cit.*

and the suspected man was subjected to all possible harrassment. "In one case the poor man shortly after the close of the protracted police investigation was found dead in the jungle having apparently committed suicide."[135] A Panel Code should reflect the spirit of the age for which it is meant. In fact, it cannot be better than the society which produces it. The administration of justice in this State between 1846 and 1885 had not yet shaken off the primitive and the medieval element in it. Maharaja Gulāb Singh could not organise the administrative machinery because of his pre-occupations in the consolidation of his gains and frequent military expeditions. Maharaja Ranbir Singh no doubt established regular courts of justice, twenty-five in number, and introduced a penal code. He could not however, do away with corruption and other defects, like delay in the disposal of cases. And with all his novice officials and new experiences in the field he could be least expected to succeed where even modern Indian State finds itself helpless. The severity of the Ranbir Penal Code is attributable to the harsh punishment of amputation of limbs and flogging, a characteristic which should now silence its critics when some countries of today are reverting to the system with national and religious pride.

Ranbir Singh's judicial and police system was nevertheless appreciably efficient. Public order was well kept. Serious crimes were almost unheared of and "what strikes the visitor more particularly is the security of person and property enjoyed by all who travel in the Happy Valley".[136] Major Bates, another contemporary observer, writes that serious crimes were comparatively infrequent, and theft was not of common occurrence; indeed the security of life, person and property within the territories of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir was "very remarkable."[137] The law of civil and criminal procedure and the law of evidence were very simple, being freed of all technical forms or restrictions. "One important fact", writes Major C.E. Bates, "worthy of special notice, is the trial of homicide and rape cases by a jury composed of persons selected in the same manner as in British India out of 100 men, 50 being named by the complainant and 50 by the accused."[138] Capital punishment was very rare, because "the religious tenets of the Maharaja, is whom

135. *Annual Report, 1889-90*, p. 23.
136. Wakefield, W., *The Happy Valley*, p. 104.
137. Bates, C.E. *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc. *op. cit.* p. 90.
138. *Bi-ennial Administration Report, Jammu and Kashmir State, S. 1937-38.* (1880-81).

alone is vested the power of sanctioning it, discourage the taking of human life.[130] A rular so humane and scholarly does not fail to leave his impress on every sphers of the administration and judicial system of Jammu and Kashmir State which he set on road to modernism through his constant endeavours and perseverence.

Section C

Communications

A network of speedy communications is essential for the successful administrations of a hill country like that of Jammu and Kashmir State. This fact must have dawned on Maharaja Ranbir Singh when his government was faced with the devastating famine of 1877 in the valley, and experienced the utmost difficulty in transporting grains in the absence of vehicular roads. Wheeled with British strategic interest in the area at its peak, the need arose for pliable roads for use by troops in the event of a Russian threat. The need of prompt communication of information over the extensive territory of the State, spreading from the Korākoram and the Pāmirs to the nothern fringe of the Punjab Plain, also assumed tremendous importance due to the political developments in the Centaral Asian countries, Maharaja Ranbir Singh,who was sensitively prone to these influences, gave top priority to the establishment of post and telegraph connections and construction of motorable roads. When he ascended the throne these means of communications were unknow in the State. There were only bridal paths connecting Jammu with the Kashmir Valley and some other distant places. There were five authorised routes to Kashmir from different directions, two from Rāwalpindi, the one via Muree, Kohālā and Bārāmūllā, and the other via Abbotābād, Domel and Bārāmūilā; one via Bhimber, Rājauri and Pir Panjāl; and another via Bhimber, Poonch and over the Hāji Pir Pass; and the fifth via Kotli, Poonch, Uri and Bārāmūllā.

A railway had been constructed upto Rāwalpindi in the British Punjab so that the route between Srinagar and Rāwalpindi became more popular. The Maharaja had therefore to give preferance to the development and construction of motorable road from Kohālā to Srinagar. His government therefore entered into an agreement with the Punjab government to meet one-half of the expenditure of the construction of the proposed bridge over the Jhelum river at Kohālā. The bridge was completed in 1870, and the Government of Jammu and

139. Bates, C.E., *Gazetter of Kashmir*, etc. *op. cit.* p. 98.

Kashmir State paid to the Punjab Government Rs. 31,000 as its share of the actual expenditure incurred on the construction that year.[140] By a separate agreement, signed on 28 Sept. 1870, the government of the Punjab agreed to pay to the State Government one-half of the toll collected at the Bridge.[141]

In September 1880, the Maharaja appointed Mr. Alexander Atkinson as Engineer and entrusted to him the construction of the Kohālā-Bārāmullā road, popularly known as the Jhelum Valley Road. The work on the road started in *Baisākh S.* 1938 (1881). Originally a contingent of 1,000 Sappers and Miners was detailed for the work under Mr. Atkinson.[142] This arrangement, however, did not prove satisfactory and had to be abandoned. The work was divided among 60 contractors for the speedy construction of this 100 mile long road. The construction presented several difficulties as seven big and small tunnels were required to be dug and a number of bridges constructed. By the middle of 1883 only 25 miles of the road was completed 21 miles on Kohālā side and 4 miles on the Bārāmūllā side. The total expenditure incurred in two years amounted to Rs. 4,13,785.[143] Lord Ripon who visited Kashmir in November 1883, saw the progress of the road.[144] By 1885 the road from Kohālā to Bārāmūllā was nearing completion, but was finally completed in 1890.[145] The journey from Bārāmūllā to Srinagar, however, continued to be performed by boat or by ponies.[146]

140. *File No. 465 of A. D. 1870*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

141. *Ibid.*

142. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State* (*Urdu*) *for S. 1939-40* (*A. D. 1882-83*), p. 143.

143. *Ibid*, p. 149.

144. *File No. 949 of S. 1940* (A. D. 1883), Persian Records, SAR (J).

145. The road was formally opened on 10 Sept. 1890, when Maharaja Partāp Singh was driven through from Bārāmūllā to Mohālā.

146. *Bi-ennial Administration Report, op. cit., 1882-83*, p. 147. Some interesting facts are available concerning this first motorable road of the State. The work on it was started in April 1881 and was completed in Sept. 1890. The length of the road from Kohālā to Bārāmūllā, was 100 miles and it ran on average at a height of 3,000 feet above the sea level of the valley. Some machinery, like saws, crushers, stone breakers and earth removers, was purchased worth Rs. 60,000. Seven tunnels had to be bored the longest being 214 feet in length. A number of streams and torrents had to be bridged, and the largest wooden bridge had a span of 150 feet. The average width of the road was 15 feet, though at places it was as narrow as to allow only one way traffic. Three Bungalows had to be built at three places on the track for the residence of the chief engineer. The permanent personnel included one

The cart road between Jammu and Kashmir, via Banihāl, also received the attention of the Maharaja. A suspension bridge over the Chenāb at Rāmban was constructed which have withstood the strain of over a century of its over-use before being replaced by a modern slab bridge a few years ago. The bridge was built by the local engineers and the steel used in its construction was brought from the mine in Reāsi district.[147] Adequate funds were provided in the State budget for the repairs and widening of the road every year. This route remained a "private road" and special permission of the Maharaja was needed by travellers desirous of travel by this route.[148]

Both these roads were great feats of engineering skill and together they made 400 miles of the hill road—the largest in the world.[149]

The first stretch of metalled road constructed in the State was from Suchetgarh to Jammu Tawi. This was done in 1876 when the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VI) visited Jammu.[150] The distance of 28 miles on this road from Jammu to Sialkot could be covered conveniently in two and half hours.[151]

Another frequented route, the Bhimber road, which ran from Gujarāt to Kashmir over the lofty mountains of the Pir Panjāl, was well maintained and repaired yearly. A large frontier road ran from Srinagar via Bāndipurā and Hasūrā cantonment, to Gilgit. A contigent of sappers and miners was employed to keep it in proper repair every year.[152] Similarly, the route leading from Gilgit to Chaprot, which was very rough and difficult and quite impossible over a five mile rock near the latter station, was cut by the sappers and miners and converted into bridal road. Its length was sixty miles.[153]

Special attention was also directed towards the maintenance of bridges and the construction of new ones. The boat bridge on the Tawi towards the south on the road leading to Sialkot, was renewed and reconstructed so as to remain open all the year round except a

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engineer, 9 overseers, 225 sappers and miners and 20 guards and a *jāmādār*. The labourers employed on road construction were paid 4 annas (25 paisa) to 8 annas (50 paisas) daily. (*Bi-ennial report for S. 1939-40*, pp. 142-149).

147. Kaul, G. L. *Six Millenium Review of Kashmir*, 1969, p. 87.

148. *Govt. of India Notification, Fort William*, Calcutta, dated 21 June, 1907. The road was thrown open to the public by Maharaja Pratāp Singh in July, 1922.

149. Bamzai, P. N. K., *History of Kashmir, op. cit.*, p, 693.

150. *File No. 680 of S. 1932* (1875), Persian Records, SAR (J).

151. *Bi-ennial Report, op. cit.*, S. 1939-40, pp. 151-52.

152. *Ibid*, pp. 152-53.

153. *Ibid*, p. 153.

couple of monsoon months. A brick bridge was constructed on the Tawi river opposite Rāmpur-Rājaori. Bridges in Kashmir Valley were also repaired. Bridges in Ladākh at Marchling, Khalatse, Lāmā-yūrū and Lā-rud, which had been washed away by flood were rebuilt at safer sites. The Yārkand road was made more convenient for traders and merchants by the construction of boat bridges at a heavy cost on the rivers Shayok and Sessrū falling on the way. The Lā-rud bridge on the Indus proved particularly convenient for the inhabitants of Saspolā and Elichi.[154]

As transportation and communication improved the number of annual visitors and tourists of the State increased. During the year 1882 and 1883 their number was recorded at 844, including a number of high ranking dignitaries.[155] Attempts by Europeans to purchase land and settle in Kashmir were successfully opposed by the Maharaja and this led, strangely enough, to the development of the houseboat, now a speciality of the valley. Unable to find suitable accommodation in Kashmir, European visitors delighted to live in indigenous Doongās transformed into comfortable floating cottages. This became the precursor of the famous houseboat.

Post Offices

Maharaja Ranbir Singh realised the importance of maintaining efficient postal system for his wide spread kingdom touching the Korakorm and Afghan frontier on the north and the north-west. He introduced for reaching reforms and gave the State a modern postal and telegraphic systems. Maharaja Gulāb Singh had already established a mail service between Jammu and Srinagar on becoming ruler of the State. The service ran through Banihal and Verinag in which seventy-five runners were engaged with three Superintendents and three *munshis*, one each and Jammu, Verinag and Srinagar. The dak reached the two ends in 100 to 140 hoūrs during fine weather conditions. The service was mainly meant for official purpose. Private letters, however, were also carried free of any charge. There were 38 dak *chowkis* between Jammu and Srinagar, which Ranbir Singh raised to 136 with two runners at each *chowki*, with a view to speed up postal communications to meet the needs of his growing influence over Gilgit and the adjoining frontier tribes. The line was extended upto Gilgit also. The time occupied in the transaction of the mails

154. *Ibid.* pp. 155-158.
155. *Ibid.* pp. 158-167.

between Jammu and Srinagar was from 36 to 42 hours; emergent despatches, however, were forwarded by pony express, which covered the distance in 26 hours.[156]

Ranbir Singh realised the efficiency of the postal system established in British India. In order to introduce such a system in this State he sought the help of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, who visited Jammu in 1865, accompanied by the Postmaster-General of that province. The British dignitary agreed on behalf of the Government of India to give necessary advice and the new arrangements were completed by the end of 1866,[157] under which regular post offices were opened at Jammu, Srinagar, Gilgit, Astor and Muzaffarabad. All letters for destinations outside the State were subject to dual postage on Indian rates, one in State stamps and the other in British stamps. Europeans were charged at half the British rates on each letter from or for the Indian Empire, and one anna on letters from or for the United Kingdom and rest of Europe. During summer a post was maintained at the expense of the State Government between Maree and Srinagar for the convenience of European residents and visitors.[158]

By this time the number of European visitors to Kashmir during summer had increased. The British Government therefore, proposed opening an Imperial Post Office in Srinagar for the summer months, and the proposal was accepted by the Maharaja and a seasonal post office was established at Srinagar in 1867, expenses for which were incurred by the State Government though its management was in the hands of a postmaster appointed by the Punjab Posts. Income derived from this post office was credited to the State Treasury. The seasonal post office was closed after 15th October after which all foreigners were ordered out of the country.[159] This post office first worked under the supervision of the Officer on Special Duty, but later in 1870 this connection was served and Srinagar post office had always since been maintained by the Imperial post office during the Kashmir season of each year. From 1st January, 1886 Srinagar post office was kept open throughout the year, and worked under a Postmaster. The time of transit between Sialkot and Srinagar averaged about 63 hours. When after trade mission to Yarkand commercial activity increased in Ladakh and a British officer on special duty was appointed at Leh

156. Bates, C.E., *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, 1876, p. 99.
157. *File No. 356 of S. 1941* (A.D. 1884), Persian Records, SAR (J).
158. Bates, C.E., *op. cit.*, p. 99; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 18.
159. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, p. 174.

also, a sub-post office was opened at Leh experimentally on the 1st June 1875 which was later made permanent in August 1876. From Srinagar to Leh the transit under ordinary circumstances took seven days, the distance being about 254 miles. From Sonmarg to Leh there were thirty-two dak *chowkis*, to each of which in the summer two men were appointed. In the winter, instead of the dak arriving daily at Leh, there was often an interval of a fortnight, and even more sometimes. The communication on the lines between Srinagar and Gilgit was maintained, not by regular summers, but through village agency, and therefore could not be depended on for speed. Between Srinagar and Leh, there were regular runners during the summer.

According to Girdlestone, however, the efficiency of the post between Jammu and Srinagar was noteworthy, for, notwithstanding that five ranges of hills had to be crossed, the usual time of transit did not exceed forty-eight hours. To obtain this speed the daily packet was limited to a few pounds in weight, and the runners were relieved every 2 or 3 miles in the hills.[160]

The State maintained some postal lines connecting the two capitals with the neighbouring. stations in British territory like Muree, Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lahore. One line ran from Srinagar to Muree along the Srinagar—Kohala route, covered by 73 mail posts. One *munshi* was stationed at Muree to look after dak arrangements. The transit time was normally between 39 to 42 hours.[161] Another line was established between Sialkot and Jammu. At Sialkot the Maharaja had established his own post office, a uniqe arrangement not allowed to any other State in India, perhaps in reciprocity to Ranbir Singh's willingness for stationing British-controlled post office at Srinagar and Leh. The State's Sialkot post office received all the mail bags from all over India meant for J & K territories as well as from State for different stations in British India, and made arrangements for onward transmission. This post office had its own defacing stamp in Dogri. In 1875, the State Government appointed Lala Chuni Lal the Postmaster at Sialkot.[162]

In rudimentary postal system charges were collected in cash but in March 1866 printed postal stamps were introduced in the denomination of two pice, one anna and four annas. Earlier stamps were mostly round in green, blue and red colours. Oblong stamps with

160. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 18-19.

161. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir*, 1929-30 (1872-73).

162. *File No. 1163-A*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

rounded corners were introduced in 1872. One pice post card was introduced in 1883. Money order system was introduced in 1882. A money order for ranging from two annas for rupees 10 to rupee one for a money order of one hundred rupees was charged.[163] Postal stamps and cards were inscribed both in Dogri and Persian characters. The system of registration of postal articles was also introduced and a four-line post mark in Dogri characters was used on registered articles Even obliterators, which were not used in earlier stages, were also introduced which bore name of the post office in Dogri. Postal system had thus become up-to-date and elabroate by the close of the reign of Ranbir Singh. Over 300 dak *chowkis* had grown up employing some 800 employees.[164] With the expansion of trade and commerce and the mobility of the people and spread of education the state postal system was faced with immense task of handling a large number of articles every year. The Kashmir post offices cleared 1,67,235 letters, 3,118 registered letters, 4,451 parcels, 1,098 packets and 5,461 newspapers during the year 1880-81; while Jammu post offices cleared 2,66,267 letters, 6,395 registered letters, 5,136 parcels, 14,266 packets and 23,499 newspapers during the same year.[165] In 1882-83 the total number of articles of all descriptions cleared by post office of Jammu and Kashmir was 6,35,994.[166]

Telegraph System

Telegraph system developed rather rapidly in the State between 1878 and 1882. The establishment of Gilgit Agency necessitated the measure and the first agreement signed in 1878 between the British Government and the State administration was in connection with linking by wire of Jammu and Srinagar with Gilgit. On Maharaja's suggestion the Punjab Government deputed an experienced officer to supervise the operation. A regiment of Sappers and Miners went into operation under the supervision of Mr. Dothey, the British officer and line from Bandipur was laid upto Gurez and extended to Gilgit and isolated line connected Gilgit with Astor with an intermediate office at Bunji on the Indus.[167] Another line was laid from Srinagar to

163. *Bi-enntal Administratton Report of Jammu and Kashmir for S. 1939-40* (1882-83), p. 180.

164. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir for S. 1937-38* (A.D. 1880-81).

165. *Ibid.*

166. *Ibid.*, S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83).

167. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p. 20.

Skardu via Sind valley and Sonamarg (where there was an office) and thence to Dras. Telegraph line between Jammu and Srinagar was completed in May, 1878. At 4 P.M. on 21 May, 1878 Maharaja Ranbir Singh personally visited the telegraph office at Jammu and the first message that passed on the line was from the Maharaja to Mr. Dothey congratulating him on his success. Mr. Dothey telegraphed his grateful thanks to the Maharaja in reply. Thereafter *Wazir* Punnu, the Governor of Kashmir, sent a telegram to High Highness intimating him of late news from Srinagar.

Telegrams from Jammu meant for British territories were sent from Suchetgarh telegraph office through a messenger on horseback to Sialkot. In 1882 Suchetgarh was connected with Sialkot by wire.[168] No state charge was made for telegrams to and from British India beyond the charges current in British India, except for cable messages, on which a charge of Rs. 2 was levied. The service was well worked.[169]

Under another agreement, the telegraph line was extended from Jammu to Nawānshehr (Ranbir Singh Purā) and thence to Suchetgarh. This line established direct communication between the Maharaja's dominions and British India.

In 1879, telegraph offices were opened at Udhampur, Bānihāl and Verināg. In 1881 Astore was joined to Gilgit via Bunji. The same year telegraph stamps were introduced. A unique feature was that the telegraph stamps were cut into two halves, one half being pasted on the telegram and the receipt issued to the sender.

In 1882 telegraph line from Gilgit to Bunji and from thence to Hasorā (Astore) was laid. From Hasorā the line continued to Drās. From Drās it was carried to Skardū and telegraph offices were opened at both the places.[170] In 1883 Riāsi was connected with Jammu by wire and a telegraph office was opened at Riāsi. In 1885 Srinagar and Sonamarg were connected by wire. The same year the Srinagar Gilgit telegraph line was completed.By the end of 1883 the State had twelve telegraph offices, five in Jammu, two in Kashmir and five in frontier areas. During these two years 26,069 messengers were transmitted which brought a revenue of Rs. 49,983 at an expenditure of Rs. 17,296.[171]

168. *Bi-ennial Report, op. cit.* S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83) p. 177.
169. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1890, p. 18.
170. *Bi-ennial Report, op. cit.*, S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83), p. 176.
171. *Ibid*, p.178.

APPENDIX

The Court of Jammu

"In the year 1857 Maharaja Gulāb Singh died; he was succeeded by his son, the present Maharaja Ranbir Singh, being about twenty seven years of age. To Maharaja Ranbir Singh's court I came in 1862, and for the next ten years I remained in his service. Several successive summers found me occupied in the geological exploration of the mountains, for which originally I was engaged, later the management of the Maharaja's Forest Department devolved upon me; in my last year of service I was entrusted with the governorship of the province of Ladākh. During almost every winter several months were passed by me at Jammoo in daily attendance at his court as familiar to me as the customs of my own country. Of these doings I will now tell something to the reader.

It is the Maharaja's custom twice daily to sit in public *Darbār* to hold open court, for the hearing of petitions. The *Mandi*, or public place of Jammoo, has then its liveliest appearance, for many are those affected by what goes on at such a court, and for all of a certain standing it is an occasion on which they pay their respects of the Maharaja, whether business requires their attendance or not. At the morning *Darbār* the Maharaja will take his seat at nine or ten O'Clock beneath one of the arches of the arcade that runs along the side of the square, at a level a few feet above where the petitioners and the outer public stand. His seat will be the flat cushion that here answers for throne; on one side will be his eldest son, on the other the chief minister, while other ministers and courtiers and attendants will be seated round the chamber against the wall, in order more or less according to their degree.

Each and all sit cross-legged on the carpet, only the rural himself and his son having the flat round cushion that denotes superiority. Perhaps some readers require to be told that all natives of India doff their shoes on coming to a carpet or other sitting place; here from the Maharaja downwards, all of them are barefoot their shoes are left outside, and socks they are not used to. Thus seated and supported, with a gaurd drawn up outside, the Maharaja looks out down on the petitioners who stand in the square. Each coming in succession, according as his petition, previously written on stamped paper and given in, is called on, stands in front with hands closed in the attitude of supplication, while the prayer is read out.

The subjects of the petitions are wonderfully varied; perhaps an employee will ask leave to return to his home, or to take his mother's ashes to the Ganges; next may be, a criminal is brought to receive final sentence; then a poor woman, with face veild, will come to complain of some grievance or other; or a dispute about a broken contract of marriage will have to be decided. These are all listened to patiently enough, and on the simple cases the decision is given at once and written on the petition. The criminal and civil cases have usually been previously inquired into by judicial officers, in the court of first instance, and perhaps have even been adjudicated on by the Appeal Court of Jummoo or of Srinagar, but it is open to suitors and complainants to try their fortune with the Maharaja himself. The Maharaja does his best to get at the truth; will examine and sharply cross-examine the witnesses. It frequently ends in his referring the matter to the magistrate for investigation; in which case it will be again brought before him for final decision.

During this time the square is thronged by members of people of such variety of races as is not often seen even in India. There are men from all parts of the dominions. Some from the higher countries, come to find work at Jummoo when their own homes are deep covered with snow; others are here to prosecute a suit for which purpose they are ready, and sometimes, find it necessary, to give up months of their winter. There are Kashmiris and Baltis by scores, Pahāris of various castes, Ladākhis occasionally; some recognizable at once by the cast of their features, others by a characteristic way of keeping the hair."

(from *Northern Barrier of India*,
by Frederic Drew, pp. 47-49).

CHAPTER

4

Military Administration and Reforms

The State Army under Maharaja Ranbir Singh was organised almost on the same lines on which Maharaja Gulāb Singh had geared it. While Gulāb Singh was a *jāgirdār* of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, his troops followed the pattern of the Sikh army, modelled partially on the European and partially on the native system. Gulāb Singh had introduced cash salary system on monthly basis for all types of troops, which, however, was paid in some cases in terms of *jāgirs*, or allowed in kind charged on certain villages or *Kārdārs*. The core of the army became thoroughly modelled on British pattern after he became an independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State. To this was attached a part of the irregular army, a vestiges of traditional native force, with a view to muster out the martial potential of the various clans who had ruled in small principalities since very old times. Ranbir Singh had inherited this war machine, geared to efficiency by the founder of the State. This army was, therefore, the outcome of several different systems which had been "unskillfully grafted one upon the other, and existed side by side instead of forming one harmonious whole. Consequently the whole army had become a composite body of regular and irregular distinct forces besides special corps, viz., the *Kholā fāuj*, the *jungi fāuj*, and the *nizāmat*, as well as the *jāgirdāri* troops. The organisational and statistical details regarding this army of Ranbir Singh are available from several records, including a note

written by Major Biddulph about the Kashmir army in January 1880, which was supplemented by Mr. Henvey in December 1882, and the state records in the State Archival Repositories. In addition, British officers and European travellers also made reference to Ranbir Singh's military system and policy and his military expeditions.

On account of fresh political developments in Central Asia after Ranbir Singh's accession and the strategical location of Jammu and Kashmir State, the military strength of the State had assumed much importance. A large border verging on tribal principalities and the Central Asian powers, coupled with Ranbir Singh's own expanionist ambitions and the Treaty stipulations necessitated the maintenance of a large armed force. The one object of the treaty was to establish a "strong Rajput power in Jammu and Kashmir which would relieve the British Government of the defence of a difficult country". The Army of the State covered an important part of the frontier of India. On the east and north it touched the fringes of the Chinese Empire; on the north-west its influence was felt among the small States south of Hindu Kush reaching almost to the extreme eastern limit of the Afghān dominions; while on the west it held in check for about 150 miles the turbulant tribes of the Indus Valley, and afforded some support to the British power in the mountaineous country of Hazārā;[1] and at the same time, the sixth article of the Treaty of Amritsar bound the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir" to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions".[2]

The fulfilment of all these obligations necessitated the maintenance of a large force fully equipped with the conventional armaments. Its strenght may have differed slightly from time to time, but it was somewhere between 27 to 30 thousands. The earliest figures are given by C. E. Bates in about 1871 A.D., who records that the army of the Maharaja consisted of about 20,000 men, with sixteen batteries of artillery, of which two were horsed; the cavalry, which was principally used as His Highness' escort and was mostly stationed near Jammu, consisted of two regiments; the infantry numbered 24 regiments of the line, irrespective of irregulars; and there was one regiment of sappers and miners.[3] Major Biddulph's figures, however, show a paper strength of about 30,000 including 24,548 Infantry, 1,492 Cavalry, 1,818 Artillery, 1,688 Sappers and Miners. Mr. Henvey's information

1. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p. 138.
2. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. I.
3. Bates, C.E., *The Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc. reprint, Delhi, 1980, p. 103.

at the end of 1882 was much the same with a total of 30,480 men.[4] He gives the distribution by commands thus; General Indar Singh's command, 4,813 men; General Labhā's command, 3,714, General Chattar Singh's command, 4,959; General Shankar Singh's command 16,994 men.[5] According to a State Government Report, the total strength of the Army in 1882 was 28,560 men, comprising of Infantry 22,700 men, cavalry 1,500 and *Nizāmat* Force 4,360 men.[6] The following were the numbers according to a statement of resources of the Jammu and Kashmir State in 1884, furnished to the Punjab Government.

Infantry, with Gunners and *Kahārs*	17,756
Cavalry	1,233
Nizāmat	7,429
Total	26,418

Field guns 66. Fort Guns 222.[7]

In addition to the usual divisions of artillery, cavalry, infantry, etc., there were three special corps, viz., the *jungi fāuj*, the *kholā fāuj* and the *nizāmat*. The *nizāmat* and special corps were localised and were entirely separate from the army for general service which, since 1877, had been divided into four small corps d'armees under the name of columns. Each column was composed of:

jungi fāuj—Infantry 4 regiment, Cavalry
1 regiment, Artillery 3 Battalions, and
4 companies of Sappers and Miners.
kholā fauj—9 *dustāh*, having a total (on paper) of 5,612 men.

In each column there was a *senā-ādish* or General, and a *bakhshi* who was also styled "officer column". The later was a civilian, whose appointment was due to private influence, and who had the whole administration of the column in his hands. Everything connected with the pay, equipment, clothing and warlike supplies for his column, were under his charge; but the weakness of the central authority allowed

4. Henrey, F., Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir. File No. 911/A Distribution of Commands of the Jammu and Kashmir Army, Persian Records, SAR (J).

5. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 20-21.

6. *File No. 106 of 1882*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

7. This return was compiled for the Punjab Govt. by the Jammu and Kashmir *Motamid*. *Cf. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 141.

him to interfere in matters to drill and discipline, and consequently there was a constant conflict of authority between him and the higher combatant officers. To assist him he had a *nāib*. The office of "Officer Column" was considered one of the most important under the Kashmir Government.

A battalion consisted of	*Pay for month* (Rs. A.)
1 Commander	62-8
1 Adjutant	31-4
1 *Wurdi* Major	31-4
4 *subedārs*, each at	15-10
8 *jamādārs* each at	11-4
4 *havildārs*, each at	8-12
4 surgeons, each at	8-12
12 *nāibs*, each at	7-2
4 *kuriās*	7-2
500 sepoys each at	5-10

The adjutant was officer second in command, and took command in the absence of the commandant.

The *wurdi* major fulfilled the duties of an adjutant in a British regiment. The major acted as a regimental pay master and quarter-master combined. The battalion contained four companies, each of which was under the charge of a *subedār*. The surgeon acted as pay *havidār*, kept the rosters, and did the whole of the writing of his company, in which he was assisted by the *kuriā*.

Gurkhā and Mian Rajput sepoys got ten annas a month extra pay, the former on the account of the bravery displayed by a Gurkhā regiment in 1852, during the war of Gilgit frontier, and the latter on account of their being caste-fellows of the Maharaja.

The *jāgirdār* battalion got no pay. It was composed of the sons, or substitutes, of men who held *jāgirs* from the Government along the foot of the hills near Jammu, in return for which they were bound to furnish a man for military service.

In some cases they themselves served instead of providing a substitute. They were almost all Musalmāns, and formed one of the finest looking regiments in the army, in which they bore a high reputation. If the family failed to furnish a soldier or substitute, the *Jāgir* was resumed by the state. Each man received ten annas monthly in cash, and his uniforms free; he was subject to no deductions. The *Jāgirdāri* system was, however, falling into disuse.

A number of soldiers had been granted culturable land in lieu of their pay, and had been enlisted in the *nizāmat*; hence the strength of the *nizāmat* increased and that of the army decreased in later years.

A certain number of enlisted camp-followers were borne on the strength of each battalion as follows:

	Pay per month (Rs. Anas P)		
1 armour	9	6	0
1 armour	6	4	0
2 armourers, each at	5	0	0
8 *lāngries*	3	2	0
8 *bhistis*	3	2	0

They wore no uniform, and were not subject to deductions like other sepoys.

The duty of *lāngri* was to receive and serve out the grain rations of his company, and on active service to cook for the company if required.

(A) Uniform

There were several kinds of uniform.

Full dress, consisting of a scarlet tunic and white trousers given by the State every four or five years.

A suit of white drill given by the State every second year.

A snubb-coloured suit (*nuswāri*) of thin *puttū*, which was formerly supplied every second year and charged to the sepoy. It was not given yearly, the price being included in the monthly deduction from the sepoy's pay.

A thick *puttū* coat every third year, for which the sepoy was charged Rs. 4-8 at the time of issue.

In about 1880, a uniform of French grey felting, with red facing, was introduced into some regiments, and it was intended to clothe the whole army with it for ordinary, wear reserving the scarlet for use of special occasions only. It was thick, warm, and very serviceable.

Though definite periods were prescribed for the issue of uniforms, they were always greatly exceeded. The men strive to delay as long as possible the issue of those articles for which they pay, and were often in a state of rags long before the issue was actually made.

Officers were supplied with uniform as required at their own expense, that of a *senādish* coat about Rs. 300.

(B) The Kholā Fāuj or Khushādā Fāuj

In 1882 this army consisted of Infantry only, though it was representative of the Kashmir Army as it had exised under Afghān rule before the conquest of Kashmir by the Sikhs. It was composted of Sikh, Dogrās, Purbeās and Pathāns, but the latter predominated, and till a few years later the force was almost entirely Pathān. Afterwards it fell into disfavour, and was allowed to fall below its normal strength, while a greater number of Hindu had been admitted to counterbalance the Pathān element. In final form it consisted of less than 4,000 men, who were organised into *brādaries* or brother hoods. A *brādari* consisted of:

	Pay per month (Rs. Anas P)
1 *Jemādār*	6 4 0
1 *Havildār*	4 6 0
1 *Nishānchi*	4 4 0
22 Sepoys	4 1 0
1 *Māshki*	3 2 0

Four *brādaries* constituted a *dustāh*, which was commanded by a *dustehdār*, who received Rs. 15,10 per month. Three *dustāhs* formed the command of a *sardār*, who received Rs. 37.8 a month. A large proportion of the *sardārs* were now Rajputs or Sikhs.

Each column had three *sardārs*, with their men attached to it, and a major who acted as regimental pay master to the nine *dustāhs*. At first there was a *senādish* of the *kholā fāuj*, as well as a *senādish* of the *jungi fāuj* to each column, but then it was allowed to exist in two columns only, which looked as if it was intended to allow the appointment to lapse and gradually change the relative status of the *kholā fāuj* altogether. The pay of a *kholā fāuj senādhish* was Rs. 125 a month.

The men of the *kholā fāuj* were supposed to supply their own arms, but in practice the arms were generally supplied by the State and charged to the men. Two men in each *brādari* carried a *jazail* between them, the rest were armed with match locks, and each man carried a sword. All were undrilled. They held many outposts on the frontier, for which work they were well suited, especially when brought into

contact with Musalmān tribes on the western frontier. Uniform was supplied by the State every five or six years. It was of dark blue cloth, with scarlet turban, breast *purdāh* and *kamarband*.

Captain Barrow gives the following account of the troops paraded before colonel Lockhart at Srinagar.

"Those paraded consisted of a weak battalion of infantry and two guns. The infantry were very fairly dressed and equipped, and drilled very creditably certainly as well as the Nipālese. Their physique was fairly good, and I am convinced that with a month's training under British officers they would be fit to take the field with our troops. Good arms and weeding are the chief requirements of their infantry. These may have been picked troops, and certainly some others I have seen, such as the sappers, are a rugged lot".

(C) Cavalry

Until 1877 the cavalry was organised as part of the *kholā fāuj* in squadrons of 120 of all ranks for the formation of the army into columns, the whole were formed into four regiments, one of which was attached to each column, by whose number it was distinguished. Each regiment was composed of four troops, and contained.

	Per month Rs.	A	P
1 *commadān* on	62	8	0
1 adjutant 1 *wurdi* major } each at 1 major	37	8	0
4 *risāldārs* each at	31	4	0
12 *havildārs* each at	25	0	0
4 *sargans*, each at	—	—	—
12 *dafedārs*	—	—	—
12 *kot-dafedārs* each at	—	—	—
20 *sawārs*, each at	15	10	0

The horses were the property of men, who were supposed to feed them, but the practice was for the State to feed them and deduct the price from the men's pay. After all deductions a *sawār* usually received the balance of Rs. 6.14 a month of cash.

Formerly there used to be squardon of cuirassiers armed with lances, but on the institution of the column organisation the squardron was incorporated in one of the regiments, and the cuirasses taken into store. It was intended to make sufficient to equip a whole regiment. The number of cavalry, in 1884 was 1,233 men in all.

(D) Artillery

Three batteries of different calibers were attached to each columns:

1 10-pr. of 6 guns; 14-pr. or 6 guns; and one mountain battery of 4 guns.

The field batteries consisted of brass smooth bore pieces of the old pattern, drawn by six horses. The mountain guns are made in imitation of those presented to the Maharaja by the British Government in 1877. With the exception of that particular battery which is mounted on mules, the mountain guns were carried on men's backs, and were sometimes called *dasti-top*. Thirty-six men were allowed to each gun. Part carried the gun itself, another set the limber, a third set the wheels, and a fourth ammunition. Mr. Henvey saw the guns of a battery put together and got ready for action in a minute and a half.

A field battery consisted of:

1 commander	1 sargeon
1 major	12 *nāibs*
4 *jamadārs*	1 *kuriā*
6 *havildārs*	70 *golundāzis.*

The mule battery had four *havildārs*, eight *nāibs* and forty-eight *golundāzis*, and the *dasti-top* batteries had 144 *golundāzis*. They were also ficers, such as leather workers, cloth workers, smiths, etc. attached at each battery.

The pay was the same as that of the corresponding ranks in *jungi f āuj*. The men were all Rajputs or Punjabi Musalmāns.

The full-dress uniform of artillery men was a dark blue tunic, braided in front with yellow lace. According to one estimate the number of field and mountain guns was sixty-four but in an estimate given to Mr. Henvey by the *Diwān* Anant Rām the total was stated to be sixty-six. The British officer on special duty calculated the guns

mounted in different forts at 222. The number of guns in store was not known. According to a report of 1870 the total number of men in Artillery was 1,818.

(E) Sappers and Miners

The Sappers and Miners strength consisted of four regiments, one of which was attached to each column. Each regiment contained four companies, and consisted of:

	Pay per month Rs.	as
1 adjutant 1 major	20	0
4 *jemādārs*, each at	9	6
12 *havildārs*, each at	7	8
4 surgens each at	7	8
400 sappers, each at	5	0

They were all low-cast men, and their physique was inferior to that of the ordinary rank and file. They were employed in menial offices, and received no instruction. They were skilful in building bridges but were unable to perform the simplest work without extra supervision.

Tools were served out to them when any work had to be executed, but they kept none as part of their equipment. Their adjutant was generally Musalmān. According to one estimate the strength of Sappers and Miners was 1,688 men.

(F) The Nizāmat Force

This was a local force of Infantry which was formed about 1871, and was distributed among the seven districts of Jammu. Each *zillā* (district) contained one regiment under *kummedān* of the same strength, officers and equipped in the same way as a battalion of the *jungi fāuj*. The men were the sons of *zamindārs* and were employed within the limits of their own *zillās* on revenue and *tehsil* work. They were a drilled force, and were armed like the *jungi fāuj*. The whole force was commanded by a Colonel and was administered directly by the *wazirs* of Kashmir and the chief *diwān*. The men spent four or five months in every year at their own gaps in the *jungi fāuj* to which it

acted as recruits. The strength of the *nizāmat* in 1884 was reported to be 7,429.

(G) Body Guards

The Maharaja's body-guard consisted of a regiment of infantary, about 600 strong, composed of Dogrās, Sikhs, Gurkhās and Pathāns. They were under the immediate supervision of the Maharaja, and many of them were the sons of *lambardārs* and other minor officials. They received higher pay than the rest of the army, and they were fed from the Maharaja's kitchen, and were always about his person. Favour was shown to them in many ways. The men were appointed the Maharaja, and were personally known to him, and had the privilege of addressing him whenever they desired. Some of the sepoys received as much as Rs. 50 a month, each man's pay being fixed arbitrarily.

There were also a mounted body of *Miān* Rajputs, the caste to which the Maharaja belonged, about 300 strong called *ghorcharās*. They were not drilled, nor did they wear uniform. They recieved no pay, but held *jāgirs* in recompense for service. Many of them were related to the Maharaja's family.

(H) Fort Guards and Outposts

Certain posts were held by special bodies of men who were engaged for this duty only. A number of small outposts on the frontier between Astor and Gilgit were held by Kashmiri Pathāns, mostly from Machipurā, where they enjoyed *jāgirs* on conditions of furnishing a guard to the posts, for which they received no other pay. They were bound to maintain 160 men for service, who were charged yearly. They were undrilled and were armed like the *kholā-fāuj*. They were armed like the *kholā-fāuj*. There were altogether three reliefs of them, making a total of 480 men; but as they were not under adequate supervision, and their numbers were not fully maintained, they could be estimated for practical purposes at 400 men.

In Ladākh there was a *dustāh* of the *kholā-f āuj* (one hundre men) which had become localised, and was not included in the column establishment. It was, however, proposed to relieve them regularly, and to absorb the *dustāh* into one of the columns.

A special body called *kilāwālās* also existed. It was composed of men who were too old for field service, but were still considered capable of doing service on the ramparts. They were all over sixty years

old, and were put on reduced pay on being relegated to this duty. The number of *kilāwālās* scattered through the different forts in Jammu and Kashmir territory was variously estimated at from 500 to 3,000 men. It probably did not exceed half the latter number.

Total Strength

The sum of the total force at the disposal of Maharaja Ranbir Singh was as follows:

	Infantry	*Cavalry*	*Artillery*		*Sapper and Miners*
			Men	*Guns*	
jungi fāuj	14,336	1,192	1,532	64	1,688
kholā fāuj	3,896	—	—	—	—
nizāmut	3,136	—	—	—	—
Maharaja's Body Guards	600	300	—	—	—
Miān Body guards	680	—	—	—	—
Punch force	1,000	—	—	—	—
Forts and Outpost Guards	1,900	—	—	222	—
	24,748	1,492	1,532	286	1,688

Total 29,746 men.

Enlisted camp followers are not taken into calculation nor any officers above the rank of commander. There was also a police of 2,000 men, half of whom were kept at Jammu and half in Kashmir. *Kilādārs*, numbering about 2,000 or more, were in addition to this strength. This would make the total strength probably at over 33,000 men, with 286 guns.

All the regiments and corps of the regular army were suitably named. F. Henvey, Officer on Special Duty, has given the following names in his statement; Raghu Pratāp, Bijli, Raghunāth, Lachhman, Bijrāj, Govind, Rudar, Shibnābh, Rām, Fateh, Hanumān, Pratāp, Ramgol, Nārāin, Devi, Raghubir, Sherbachā, Basheshwar, Suraj, Narsingh, and Gopāl.[8]

8. Henvey F., *op. cit*, SAR (J).

Armaments

In the opinion of Major C.E. Bates Ranbir Singh's army "with the exception the artillery, seems fairly equipped and efficient". The infantry was mostly armed with a light rifled carbine, adapted to both flint and match-lock, which is manufactured in the country and they were supposed to be dressed and drilled after the British fashion.[9] However, the armaments were of the most hetergenous description, and there were not less than six or seven kinds of firearms in use. The production was of pattern made in local arsenals. The ammunition was, of course, of bad quality and no particular care was taken in the storing of it.

There were a number of magazines, conveniently located, which produced a varying quantity of gun-power and igniting material. The principal magazine was located 2 miles north of the city of Jammu. It was capable of producing 1000 maunds of powder per annum. The Jammu arsenal was reported to contain as many as 300 brass guns of light calibre.

There was a small magazine at Riāsi producing 200 maunds of powder per year. Saltpetre was manufactured at Kāhnā-chak, a place some twelve kilometers from Jammu. In Kashmir and Frontier areas also there was provision for preparation of power. The magazine near the fortess of Hari Parbat in Srinagar, used to produce 250 *kharwār* of power annually. Astor, Gilgit and Muzaffārbād were usually supplied from Kashmir, but powder could be locally made in Astor as well as at the other two places.

Arms Factories

The principal factory for manufacturing arms was at Jammu, where two foremen and one hundred and fifty workers were emloyed. Muzzle-loading rifles were turned out at the rate of a dozen in two months, but the workmanship was bad. Small mountain guns (probably the *dasti top*) were manufactured and shells were made in large quantities, but the quality was bad. Matchlocks, Blunderburses, bayonets, swords, were freely made, and there were experiments constantly going on with Murtini Henry rifles, getlings, and so forth, but local artisans were not capable of efficient work of this sort.

9. Bates, C.E., *The Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc. reprint, New Delhi, 1980 p. 104.

Srinagar

There was a factory near the *Chhāoni* where sixty workmen were employed who manufactured rifles and carbines.

Zainagam

On the road of Gulmarg, twenty five blacksmiths and ten workmen were engaged in the manufacture of muskets and swords.

The iron found in the country was not considered of sufficiently good quality for the purpose and Bajāur iron, which was imported by way of Muzaffārābād, was used in the manufacture of all gun barrels, except in the case of inferior sporting weapons.

This metal is sold in Srinagar at the rate of two seers for a *chilki* rupees, the best Kashmiri iron costing about half as much.

All the blacksmiths and gun makers, to the number of about thirty shops or more, inhabit the Nawattā quarter of the city, at the foot of the Hari Parbat hill; since the Government gun factory was abolished, about fourteen years ago, they had been principally employed in the manufacture of rifles and wall-pieces for His Highness troops.

There was no systematic division of labour, and the number of weapons produced was apparently not great. It is said that each shop, in which four or five workmen were employed, turned out one wall-pieces or one or two rifles a month. The Government supplied all materials, and paid for the labour or manufacture at the rate of thirty *chilxi* rupees for each rifle. Considering the rudeness of the tools employed, a very light, handy, and well finished weapon was produced, though probably not an accurate piece, as the method of boring and rifling was extremely primitive. Kashmiri iron was used for all parts of the rifle except the barrel, and in the wall-pieces only the inner portion of the barrel was made of imported metal. The bayonets were made of Kashmiri iron tipped with imported steel.

Rifles and small field piece were also manufactured for the Government at the village of Zainagām, in the Biru *paraganā*; there were said to be about twenty-five men employed, in the factory; the weapons there manufactured were of exactly similar pattern to those made in Srinagar, the system of boring and rifling was the same, the method has been fully explained and illustrated in the *Handbook of the Manufacturers and Arts of the Punjab*, Vol. II, Page 288.

The stock of the piece was made of walnut wood, and the lock was adaped to both match and flint. It was said that the number of

rifles produced in the Zainagām factory did not exceed five a month, but that this number could be increased should necessity arise.

At Srinagar the better quality of sporting weapons, guns, and rifles were manufactured from Damascus twist, of which there were two kinds, in the better quality only *sankhiyā* (arsenic) was used to produce the *jāuhar* or damark; in the inferior description a similar result was obtained by the use of a mixture of *kalai* and *sankhiyā*. Only imported iron was fit for the purpose, it was beaten into thin narrow bars about 3 feet long and between each bar a layer of *sankhiyā* was spread; the mass was then welded, and a bar of twisted metal, about the thickness of the little finger, was coiled round and welded on, the barrel was then shaped and bored, after which it was immersed in a mixture of *kalai*. This process was reported to have taken from one to four days to draw out the *jauhar* or demark according to the strength of the mixture and the nature of the metal.

Swords, knives, were made of *foulād* which was imported from Irān (Persia) or of Kushi Lohār from Bajāur, and sometimes of a mixture of all three metals. Of these, the *foulād* was the most expensive, costing, it is said, as much as sixteen *chilki* rupees a seer at Srinagar. Ordinary steel was worth about half as much. Kashmiri iron was never used for the manufacture of swords. Sword blades were not submitted to any chemical process to produce the watering, which was so much admired; it was attained by tempering and polishing with a stone called *kuran*. The exports trade in fire-arms and sword blades for which Kashmir was once famous, seems to have died out by the middle of Ranbir Singh's reign.

Besides the above it must be brone in mind that there were many private gunsmiths in Kashmir, who were exceedingly skilful in imitating European weapons. It was believed they could convert muzzleloading into breech loading rifles, and the Maharaja perhaps made use of them as contractor for the manufacture of arms.

The British Government looked to the military and political power of the Jammu and Kashmir Government in the furtherance of their trade and political interests in Central Asia and the Pāmir tribal region. It therefore encouraged the Maharaja to equip his troops with better and upto-date weapons. For this object the British Government presented to the Maharaja in 1877, a complete mountain battery of four rifled 7 pounders and one thousand Snider rifles, with 200 rounds of ammunition each rifle. The Maharaja then requested that some troops might be taught to use the rifles, and twenty-one men were accordingly instructed at Sialkot, being attached for the purpose to the 5th Native Infantry. The same year the

Maharaja was permitted to obtain the services of "a native versed in the manufacture of gun-powder to superintend the power factory in this country," with the condition that the men's employed must be "strictly limited to superintending the manufacture of power only."[10] These steps enabled the State forces to keep abreast of the latest developments in weaponary and prepared them to perform their part efficiently in the later expeditions in tribal areas including Chitrāl and Swāt.

Composition of Army

The army of Ranbir Singh was of composite nature, composed mainly of Dogrās and other Hindus from the Punjab. The Muslim portion was likewise recruited from the Punjab, and some regiments were even composed of Gilgitis and Astoris.[11] The officers were chiefly native gentlemen.

The bulk of the army consisted of the Dogrās—"which denotes neither caste nor religion, and is applied to all the inhabitants of the province of Dugar. In point of fact there is a considerable proportion of Mussalmāns among the Dogrās, though the greater number were Hindus". Those that took military service were mostly Rajputs, who were divided into two classes, viz., *Miān* Rajputs and ordinary Rajputs.[12]

The sappers and miners were composed exclusively of low-caste men, such as Meghs and Dums. Dogrā Mussalmāns, were the descendants of Hindus that had been forcibly converted to Islam and retained their caste names and many of their caste customs. Chibhāl contained great numbers of Musalmān Rajputs who formed a considerable portion of the army. In person, Dogrā soldiers were small men, averaging 5 feet 4 inches, of slight make, and somewhat weak physique. Though wanting in muscular power and deficient in stamina, they were of wiry and active nature, excellent marchers, and able to undergo great and prolonged fatigue where great muscular exertion was not required. They had the reputation of being faithful to those they served and were not without a certain dogged tenacity, which rendered them

10. *Political, A, Oct. 1877, Nos. 538-39.* NAI.
11. Bates, C.E., *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc., p. 103.
12. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, pp. 150-151.

excellent material as soldiers.[13]

There were very few natives of Kashmir in the army. It had some foreign recruits also. As had been observed the force formed a refuge for most of the military waifs and strays in Northern India. Pathāns from Swāt and Buner, who have had to leave their homes on account of blood feuds, men who had been discharged for misconduct from British Regiments, all found a home in the *Kholā fāuj*. Besides there were many Kashmiri Pathāns, who were a fine soldierly race. A considerable number of men tarvelling down country to enlist in the British army were waylaid at Jhelum and inveigled into the Maharaja's service by promises which were not carried out. The ordinary attraction held out was higher pay than that given by the British Government,[14] although the the State coinage was only worth ten annas of British currency. In the course of 1870 the Maharaja raised two companies of Kūkās, of one hundred men each, with the intention of making them the nucleus of a regular Kūkā Regiment. His orders to the recruiters, whom he sent into the Punjab, were to obtain men of good family and fine physique. The two hundred Kūkās were kept at Jammu for some little time. Then they were transferred to Srinagar, where they were made much. Presents were often bestowed on them irrespective of their pay, and a prominent place was assigned to those who wished to go to the *wazir's darbār*. But suddenly in the end of the year they were all removed to Muzaffārbād. This was probably due to the desire of the Government to conceal the fact that it was employing men whom the British Government would not take in its ranks.[15] After this the Kūkās were treated with less consideration, and within a short time, they were dismissed.[16] The British Government seems to

13. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 151.
About Dogrā Officers the Gazetteer records the following observation: "Good as is the material to be found among the rank and file, as much can hardly be said for their officers, and several instances are known of a Dogrā force fleeing panic-stricken from a contemptible enemy. As a class the Rajput officers are very inferior to the Sikh, Pathān and Punjābi Musalman officers, of whom there are a considerable number. They are proud, lazy, and ignorant, few of them being even able to write, and their reputation for courage does not stand high." *Ibid.* pp. 152-53.

14. *Ibid.* p. 143.

15. Girdlestone, *Memo*, dated 5 Feb., 1872.

16. *Political A., Feb. 1872, Nos. 39-49*, NAI (ND).

be much concerned about the Kūkās and the Punjab Government was directed to watch Kūkā recruiting by the Kashmir *Darbār*.[17]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh seems to have employed both the Gurkhā and Pathān recruits for the Jammu and Kashmir Army and the British Government particularly directed the attention of the Officer on Special Duty in this affair.[18] The Maharaja also expressed his wish at the end of 1878 to have an African Body Guard. But the idea seems to have been discouraged since the scheme likely to be unnecessarily expensive and open to other obvious objections.[19]

The effective nucleus of Ranbir Singh's Army, however, was formed of the Dogrās, both Hindu and Musalmān, around which were arrayed several units of soldiers from other castes and nationalities. The secular nature of his army was, therefore, explicitly emphasised and afterwards retained without reserve. There was but a negligible number of Kashmiri Musalmāns in the army which seems to be due to the disinclination of the people of the Valley to military avocation and their preference for their traditional handicrafts and arts.[20]

Salaries and Deductions

Major C.E. Bates observed in 1871 that "the Maharaja of Kashmir pays his troops liberally; in 1870 the pay of the sepoy was increased from six or seven to nine rupees a month." However, the pay of all ranks was subject to numerous deductions for rations, clothing, carriage when marching, and the "income tax or *tambol* which is paid by every government official from the highest to the lowest".[21] Under this later head a *senādhish* was subject to a deduction of Rs. 6-4 a month, besides which he was charged about Rs. 4 for rations. Officers on lower pay were charged in proportions. The total deduction for ration and equipment in the case of a sepoy in 1870 was rupees five which stoppage was in the following year, reduced to four rupees.[22] But afterwards the total deduction in the case of a sepoy in *jungi fauj* was Rs. 2.13 or fifty percent of his nominal pay. In addition to this a month's pay was deducted from

17. *Political, A., April 1871, No. 54,* NAI(ND).
18. *Secret E., October 1883, No. 338-341,* NAI(ND).
19. *Political A., June 1879, Nos. 41-43,* NAI(ND).
20. Bates, C.E., *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* etc., p. 104.
21. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* 1890, p. 153.
22. Bates, C.E., *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* etc., p. 104.

each government servant on every accession or a birth, marriage or death in the Maharaja's family, which occasions, however, were not many in the tenure of a government servant. This tradition came down in Hindu court from ancient days when the Raja was considered a part and parcel of the tribe and a leader of the tribal republic, and people willingly contributed in cash or kind on such occasions taking them to be as tribal events.

The scanty pittance left after these deductions was still further reduced by the dishonesty of the *bakshi.* The sepoy's pay used to be withheld so as to be always from four months to a year in arrears, and it was occasionally as much as eighteen or twenty months overdue. At intervals four or five months' pay was issued by the *bakshi,* accompanied by the *senādhish* colonels, and *commadāns,* who all sat on a carpet, while each sepoy advanced in turn. His accounts were rapidly read out to him by the *bakshi's* clerk, and the small sum shown to be due was handed to him minus the odd annas, which were retained as *bakshi's* perquisite. In case the sepoy remonstrated he had to wait for the payment till next pay day, several months later. He therefore contented himself, with whatever was offered him, instead of recording a futile protest. It seems that keeping the sepoys in arrears assured them against frequent desertion by the soldiers, particulary during expeditions and battles. The exactions by *bakshis* and pay masters was a nuisance, a reminiscent of former days, which was prevalent even among British troops, and would have been redressed with the system of payment which developed only during the twentieth century. Several of the benefits, rightful or otherwise were got by the sepoys on payment. If a sepoy, when at a distant station, desired of going on leave to him home, though not authorised, could be arranged by payments to the *commadān* and the *bakshi.* Or it may happen that he is desirous of quitting the service altogether due to domestic exegencies; but there was no recognised arrangement by which a sepoy could get a discharge. So he was obliged to purchase the consent of his colonel who allowed him to provide a substitute. In such a case the five or six month's pay due to him was forfeited to gain the assent of the *bakshi.* Desertion of discharge was therefore not an easy affair as it is not even today in both cases.

In the matter of food the sepoys were the worst sufferers. In Jammu under the eye of the Maharaja, the rations issued were of course of good quality. But in distant garrisons they were often very inferior, and much sickness and occasional deaths, arising chiefly from dyspepsia, were the result. The vested interests prevalent militated against efficient and pure provisions. "It may happen that all the

mills in the place were owned by the Governor, no grain being allowed to be ground by the *zamindārs* at any mill not belonging to him. Payment for grinding being always made in kind, a quantity of different grains is accumulated. This is all mixed together charged to government as fine wheat, and issued to the sepoy. A single handful of each staff often contains wheat, barley, millet peas, *dāl* and maize mixed up together. After sifting this mixture the sepoy has to take it to be ground, for which he has to pay, and then he has to collect fuel for himself, which in some places is a matter or considerable difficulty."[23]

The lot of the ordinary sepoy was thus no enviable one. Badly clothed, badly fed, and subjected to a life often of great privation, "in a service from which death is the only release", it sounded "wonderful" to the critics that recruits could be found in any number. Such critics failed to discover the feeling among the people that military service, though full of hazards and privations, was "a duty owed to the State, and that the Hindus' submission to constituted authority, from the best recruiting agents". Moreover the Dogrā is naturally patient and uncomplaining, so cases of insubordination or desertion were rare. With scanty food and scantier clothing he travelled across the high snow-capped passes north of Kashmir at all seasons without complaining, though often despatched on the most frivolous errangs by his thoughtless superior. Not a year passed in which a number were not lost altogether, and others rendered cripples for life from cold and exposure. But undeterred by these sufferings the Dogrās were always anxious to join the army of their State and prided in fighting and laying down life in defence of its borders.

For achieving the required efficiency of military force the best type of recruits were required. However, the demands of the British Government in this field were also greater and the State had to exert much to get good soldiers. Recruits of all nationalities and communities were enlisted. This naturally bred some suspicions in the minds of British authorities. The Maharaja had therefore to be very cautious with regard to the organisation and disposition of his army, compatible with both his defensive needs and the intentions of the British Government. He was not free to raise and equip his army as he might have desired. This probably resulted in some defects in his organisation and led to certain indiscipline and weakness. Notwithstanding these defects, Ranbir Singh's army has been appreciated as a well

23. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1890, op. cit.*, p. 153.

organised and efficient war machinery. "For a native force, the army", wrote Major C.E. Bates,[24] "with perhaps the exception of his artillery seems fairly equipped and efficient. The infantary are mostly armed with a light rifled carbine adapted to both flint and matchlock", which was manufactured in the country. They were supposed to be drilled and dressed after the British fashion.[25] The *kahār* battery struck as an efficient and indigenous device. It was an excellent idea for hill warfare.[26] These people had light men to carry there 3 Inches brass smooth bare guns, eight men carried the gun carriage, four the wheels, and two men each ammunition box. Besides this each *kahār* carried one round in a pouch, so without the ammunition boxes they would have twenty round with the gun.[27] A gun division of this *kahār* battery was paraded before Colonel Lockhart at Srinagar, of which the gunners were soldiers, but the gun, libers, and ammunition were carried by *kahārs*. Their drill was found fairly good, "they limbered and unlimbered quickly enough, and, for an alpine country I think the idea of a *Kahār* battery is good".[28]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh executed some special reforms in the army to give it more native colour and to invest it with an individuality. Some books on military science were got prepared in Hindi as also the British system of drill was transformed into native mould with Hindi words of command and terminology. These books were thoroughly illustrated to make them more intelligible. A book on '*Musketry Regulations*' containing in detail firing exercises for M.H. and Sinder Rifles was also published in Dogri. Similarly a book on tent pegging was also brought out in Dogri. These efforts of the Maharaja were directed towards providing Officers and Jawāns with military literature in their mother tongue, a step which was likely to increase their efficiency. The Maharaja also got codified the laws for the army personnel which was published in Dogri and Persian languages under the title '*Sri Ranbir Sainik Dand Bidhi*', which became a code of conduct for men and officers in the State forces.

24. Bates, C.E., *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc., 1980 p. 104.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Captain E.G. Barrows', observation, quoted in the *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1980, p. 144.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid*, p. 145.

CHAPTER

5

Agrarian System and Economic Reforms

Section A

Agrarian System and Land Reforms

Maharaja Ranbir Singh took great interest in land reforms and sought to improve the economic condition of the people. Land being the basis of economy, particularly in the valley, it received his first attention. Things had been far from normal when Dogrās succeeded to power in the State. Jammu had been under the administration of Gulāb Singh since 1820 and he had established the economy thereof on some what rational principles of agrarian operations to some extent during the 26 years of his rule there as a vassal of the Sikhs. Things in Kashmir, however, were in an extremely deplorable condition since the days of Mughal and Durrāni rule. The system which he inherited was extremely corrupt, and land which was basis of economy in Kashmir, was heavily taxed for the last several centuries. Even under Akbar the land ownership vested in the State which allotted it to tillers every year, [1] and though State demand in theory was at the rate of one-third, but actually it amounted to more than one-half of the gross

1. Jarret, H.S., *Aim-i-Akbari*, Eng. trans, p. 366.

produce,[2] as officials involved in assessment and collection of land revenue had also to be paid in addition. According to one estimate the State took 12 out of every 16 *traks* in the name of land revenue and other cases. The cultivator was left only with one-fourth of his gross produce.[3] The same system had continued unabated under the Afghāns and the Sikhs. Under the latter the State claimed three-fifths of the gross produce and left with the cultivator less then two-fifths and probably only about one-third.[4]

Such a system of land revenue obviously should have been extremely oppressive and a source of unlimited official corruption and hardship to the cultivators as it did not leave enough for their living. The whole system of assessment and collection "was exceedingly complicated and workable only in the interest of the corrupt officials".[5] Consequently, people were everywhere in the most abject condition, "exhorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of exortion and oppression by its officiers".[6] The consequences of the system, wrote Moorcroft in 1821, "were the general depopulation of the country, not more than one sixteenth of the cultivable surface was in cultivation".[7] The continuation of exploitation and oppression by the Sikh for about two decades and a half had further impoverished the country altogether, and Kashmir had "lost its charms as a desirable acquisition and its riches had all departed".[8]

Gulāb Singh was, therefore, faced with the tremendous task of rehabilitating the economy of the State on a sound footing. He did try to set things in order, but the times were abnormal and he could not achieve much within the shorts span of his reign. Yes he did not neglect this field. He tried to rationalise the *jāgir* systems, effected some improvement in the *begār* (forced unpaid labour) system, introduced rationing of rice in the valley and relieved the distress of the shawl workers by introducing suitable reforms.[9] Gulāb Singh, however, had been unjustly blamed for inaugurating "a rapacious economic programme", by less informed writers.[10] ignoring the fact that

2. Beveridge, H., *The Akbar-nāmā of Abul Fazl*, Eng. trans., Vol. III, Delhi 1973 (Rep.), pp. 770-771.
3. *Annual Reports*, 1902, p. 30.
4. Drew, F., *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, rep. 1971, p. 18.
5. Young husband, Sir Francis, *Kashmir*, London, 1909, p. 156.
6. Moorcroft, *Travels*, p. 344 ff.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Hugel, *Travels*, p. 123.
9. Jyoti Bhushan, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 31.
10. Palit, D.K. *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, 1971, p.56.

Gulāb Singh did not interfere with the system in vogue and only sought to alleviate the condition of peasants and cultivators by regulating various processes of assessment and revenue collection.

The economy of Kashmir was thus continuing deplorable at the accession of Ranbir Singh. His first concern, therefore, was with land reform since agriculture formed the hub of the State's economy and on its progress depended the well-being of the masses. The system of land tenure which was inequitable and riddled with corrupt practices, first attracted his attention and with his first reforms in 1859 ushered in a period of experimentation in agrarian system, which, like that of Akbar, continued to evolve throughout whole of his reign.

There was an adequate revenue department, and in Kashmir, as in other parts of the country, the revenue administration proceeded from the *patwāri*, the village accountant. Over the *patwāris* was a small band of *pandits* who were employed in the *tehsil* in various revenue capacities. Over the *patwāris* and the *pandits* there was a *tehsildār* and one or two *tehsildārs* in a *tehsil*. There were fifteen *tehsils* in the valley and these *tehsils* were grouped into three districts or *wazārats*, which were presided over by officers known as *wazir-wazārats*. And above all this divisional complex was the *hakim-i-ālā* or governor of Kashmir Province.[11]

With this elaborate revenue personnel the problem was of equitable assessment and honest collection of land revenue and it were these processes which suffered the most on account of age old correption entrenched in the happy valley. Ranbir Singh started by parcelling out the country in 1859 among *kārdārs* who were land agents of the state, with very large powers. The *kārdār* divided his charge into three belts,[12] In the lower he allowed only the cultivation of rice; in the middle belt he allowed some rice to be grown, and in the highest belt he permitted no rice. His intention was to get the largest possible amount of grain for the State. For the purpose of achieving intensive cultivation, the *kārdār* gave land to the cultivators on the basis of a full family as a unit known as *nafre* at the rate of four acres to each *nafre*, two to a *nim nafre* or half family and one acre to a *pāo nafre*, i.e. a bachelor.[13] In order to watch the growth of the crop a person knows as *shakdār* was deputed to each village. In a large village several *shakdārs* were placed, one to each threshing floor.[14] The

11. Lawrence, Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 400-401.
12. Ibid, p. 402.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *G.P.D. File No. 185*/H-71 of 1909, SAR (J).

shakdār received 8 *kharwārs* of *shāli* from the government and took as his perquisite *rusum* about 12 *kharwārs* from the village. Over the *shakdārs* was an officials known as *sazawāl*, who received for ten months in a year Rs. 2½ per mensem. When the crop was ready a regiment known as the *nizāmat paltan* [15] moved out into the villages to enforce the State's claim, and this regiment was supplemented by sepoys from the regular army.[16]

Under the new system the government claim was realised in kind at the rate of three-quarters of rice, maize, millets, and buckwheat, and of oil-seeds, pulses and cotton the share taken was nine-sixteenth.[17] What remained with the cultivator he had to share with the men of *nizāmat paltan* and the corrupt officials. The fate of the peasants was as miserable as before. In 1860, therefore, the Maharaja reduced the State share "to a little over one half". But "this liberality was more than discounted by the unfortunate devices"[18] which were adopted by corrupt staff responsible for the collection of revenue. Hence a new agency for collection of land revenue was introduced in 1869, known as *chaklādār*. Groups of villages were farmed out to *chaklādārs* "who robbed both the State and the cultivators". Where the *Chaklādārs*, who were a sort of "speculating contractors", did not expect large profits from the land, it was hold '*amāni*', that is, the State took its share of the actual produce of a village. This system remained in vogue till 1873.

In 1873 an attempt was made to introduced a three years' *raiyatwāri* settlement[19] which was a direct assessment with the cultivators at the exclusion of middlemen, and cash assessment used to be made. Suitable reduction was also made in land revenue which benefitted over three lakh cultivators in the valley. The Maharaja also remitted about six lakh rupees due from some contractors. In 1873 the peasants were exempted from payment of land revenue in cash on their own suggestion, reverting to the *amāni* system, i.e. payment of land tax in kind. That was a drought year and the Maharaja remitted about seven lakh rupees due from the people of draught effected areas. However, this system had to be abandoned, for it was unpopular with the host of contractors and middlemen who had thrived on the old system, but mainly due parhaps to the great famine of 1877-79.

15. For *Nizamat Paltan* see Chapter 4.
16. Lawrence, W.R., *op. cit.*, p. 402.
17. Lawrence, W.R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 404.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*

Finally, in 1880, an assessment supposed to be on holdings, known as '*assāmiwār khewat*', with cash was introduced. The basis for this assessment "was supposed to have been the average of the collections of the three previous years,[20] and was known as cash assessment, although it rested with the *hākim-i-ālā* "to say year to year, how much assessment be made in cash and how much in kind. The system of assessment partly in cash and partly in kind came to be known as *muzawazā* system".[21] This too had its drawbacks. The collectors deposited the cash with the government but took away to their homes the portion received in kind and showed the same in records as *bāki*, i. e. arrears in the name of the cultivator year after year. Reforms and remittances were made from time to time. It seems that after vigorous experimentation in land revenue assessment system, this latter mode was finally approved for the entire valley. This mode, in combination with the system of measurement of land by *jarib* or chain, instead of variable human step, became foundation of a reformed land revenue system.[22]

The use of *jarib* was introduced in 1880, and the regular measurement on the lines of the Punjab was adopted. The new land manusration technique required the services of statitians known as *shajrākash*, and as they were not available in sufficient number the Maharaja authorised the employment of 20 *shajrākashs* from the Punjab on a monthly salary of Rs. 20, in British coin. He also started classes for training revenue personnel in measurement of land and preparation of records pertaining to land. Some 80 trainees attended such classes at Srinagar in 1880. *Patwāris* were also given training in this work in Anantāg *Wazārat* so that the work of assessment was completed well in time. The land settlement work was also geared to scientific and speedy endeavours by the re-organisation of the Settlement Department in 1880 when Sayyid Qāsim Ali was put as Settlement Officer. By the close of 1883 land settlement in 582 villages of Kashmir, involving over 2, 78, 000 *ghumāons* had been verified by the Governor and *Diwān-i-Māl* of the Valley. In Ladākh also settlement work was taken in hand, but due to hurdles of snowfall only 34 villages could be assessed. The Maharaja took a personal interest in land reforms and assessment work and while at Srinagar used to inspect the record of the work done.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

21. *G. P. D. File No. 3/Shali/6* of 1919, SAR (J).

22. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State* for the year S. 1937-38 (A. D. 1880-81).

Before the conquest of Ladākh by the Dogrās it was ruled by local *gyālpos* (rajas) who charged no tax on land.[23] Instead they levied tax on dwellings known as *khrāl, shā* or *thang* which was collected partly in cash (*nul khrāl*) and partly in kind (*brā khrāl*. Those who could pay neither cash nor kind were obliged to pay by manual service as.[24] The houses were divided into three sizes for the purpose of levying *khrāl*. For *Khangcheo* or full sized house Rs. 7 were charged annually; a *Phyedu* or middle sized house one half, i. e., Rs. 3½ and for a small dwelling only one and three quarter of a rupee were assessed.[25] There were aboue 18,000 paying houses of all sizes which paid a total of Rs. 36,400 annually. Allowing part payment in the shape of service and labour, total annual cash receipts hardly exceeded thirty thousand rupees.[26] In addition there were 4000 houses alienated for the support of the monasteries, about 1000 for the maintenance of the various members of the royal family and about the same number in villages owned by the *Gyālpos*.[27]

The *begār* or manual service as labourers was also permitted in lieu of *khrāl* for the poor *Bhuttās*, i. e., Ladākhis, who could pay neither in cash nor in kind. They had to provide labour to the *Gyālpos* in accordance with a district-wise schedule ranging from twelve days to forty-three days in a year.[28]

Maharaja Gulāb Singh and Ranbir Singh allowed this system to continue for some time with minor changes.[29] Although the number of inhabited dwellings had decreased yet the number of paying houses was about the same. But in 1864 Ranbir Singh carried out substantial reforms in order to argument the revenue as a part of general policy throughout the State. Under the revised system all *khang-cheos* or full houses were considered to have full one *zamin*, or plot of land measuring about ten acre, and had to pay, in addition to the tax they were already paying, about one rupee and ten annas per annum in cash on account of the miscellaneous taxes.[30]

This system continued for twenty years. Under this system

23. *Forgn. Frontier A. Procgs., 97-108 of 1867* NAI, New Delhi.
24. Cunningham, A., *Ladak*, Reprint 1971, New Delhi, p. 269.
25. *Forgn. Frontier A., Procgs., 97-108 or 1867*, NAI, New Delhi.
26. Cunningham, A. *op. cit.*, p. 270.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.
28. *Forgn. Frontier A., Procgs. 97-108, of 1887*, NAI.
29. *Forgn. Frontier A., Procgs. 1-7 of 1886*, NAI, New Delhi.
30. Taxes like *Sarfānā, Nazrānā, Duzdizamin, Zar-i-Markab, Nazar-i Wazir*, & *Nazar-i-Kolub* were included in this category.

many monasteries which held extensive lands did not pay any tax. In order to make them pay tax and to increase the rate of old revenue due and also to bring the new system in tune with that which obtained elsewhere in the State, a new system was introduced in Ladākh in the year 1884.[31] The land was surveyed in 34 villages only, and people were asked to pay Rs. 2 per annum per *kul*, i. e. plough instead of the rates under the old system. By this arrangement the government charges on the land increased by about 30 per cent. Ladākhis were consequently indignant and unhappy as the land was *ekphasali* (giving one crop annual) and Rs. 2 per *kul* seemed much excessive. But it was only after Ranbir Singh that the Maharaja Pratāp Singh abandoned the new system in 1887 and revised the old but with the rates enhanced by 25 per cent.[32]

The Maharaja's personal interest and granting of various concessions to new settlers, and the introduction of regular settlement revived homes which had been ruined and land long given up was cultivated and sings of prosperity were seen once again.[33] These efforts at reforms were aimed at changing the old system and assess revenue at a fixed amount. In initial stage the officials had turned this very measure into a means of peculation. There was widespread distress in the land. The Maharaja when came to know of it, immediately toured the Valley to assure the cultivators of his sympathy towards them. While camping at Achhābal he personally attended to the complaints of the wronged peasantry and the officials were compelled to return all the money they had squeezed out of the impoverished people.[34]

In the beginning of Ranbir Singh's reign there was undoubtedly a great deal of fallow and uncultivated land in the valley and in order to encourage cultivation the Maharaja decided to grant allotments called *chaks* on easy terms under the general name *Zarniāsi*. The conditions usually were that waste land should be brought under tillage by employing people not already cultivators.[35] During the year 1866 and 1867 the Darbār was induced to sanction still more favourable allotments and *chak Hanūdi* were issued, which were the grants made out in favour of Hindus. The condition attach-

31. *Ibid.*
32. *F. E., Sec-E, Progs. No. 97-108* of 1887-NAI.
33. Jalali, J. L. K., *Economics of Food Grain in Kashmir*, p. 48.
34. Bamzai, P. N. K., *History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 698.
35. Wingate, A., *Preliminary Report of Settlement Operations in Kashmir and Jammu*, 27-28.

ed to *Hanūdi* grants was that only waste land would be cultivated and that Government cultivators were not to be employed.[36]

The most important concession causing widespread impact on the rural as well as the urban population of the Valley was the remission of the abnoxious *traki* tax which had been first introduced during the Afghān rule and suffered to continue afterwards. The complicated and arbitrary nature of this tax had ever been a tiklish affair for the cultivators. Out of every two *kharwār* of produce the State took one as its share. Out of the remaining produce the peasant had to part with another eight *traks* in the name of various *rusum*, viz. *Rusūm-i-Tarki*, *Rusūm-i-Manwatti*, *Rusūm-i-Qānungo*, *Patwār*, and *Dāmangadāi*, as well as the share of the village menials like *doom* and functionaries such as *shakdār*, *sazawāl*, etc. In addition to these charges, another two *traks* were taken away on one pretext or the other, leaving a bare one-fifth of the gross produce with the tiller. The disappointment of a Kashmiri tiller could very well be imagined. In the early sixties, says Younghusband, cultivation was decreasing; the people were wretchedly poor. In any other country, their state would have been one of starvation and famine.[37] Realising the hardship of the cultivators Ranbir Singh remitted in about 1870 one *trak* out of the *rusūm* levies. In that year a further remission was made. Finally, in February, 1878, the *traki* tax on *shāli* was altogether abolished by proclamation. The total remission amounted to Rs. 2, 09, 000 *chilki* per annum.[38] The same proclamation fixed government assessment on other grains like *māsh*, *moong*, maize etc., according to *panchotrā* or *Panjotrā* system, i. e., two parts to state out of five of produce, the remaining three parts going to the tiller.[39] These reforms and remissions relieved much of the burden of taxation on land and improved the condition of agriculture and the cultivators, although the oppression of the assessors could not be thoroughly stamped out as Ranbir Singh's deputies and officials, innured in corrupt practices for long, did not share their ruler's enthusiasm for reform and blatanly continued to exploit the people.[40] Unfortunately, he had not the help of officials capable of immense labour required to remove the effects of previous misgovernment.[41]

36. *Ibid.*
37. Sufi, G. M. D., *Kashir*, New Delhi, Vol. II, p. 797.
38. *Bi-ennial Administratian Report, Jammu and Kashmir State*, for S. 1935-36.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Palit, D. K., *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, op. cit., p. 56.
41. Sufi, G. M. D., *op.cit.*, p. 797.

In Jammu Province the condition of land-holders and tillers was comparatively better. The villages were held in proprietorship by persons descended from the original settlers, mostly Rajputs, Brahmans, and Thakurs.[42] Each proprietor usually had a separate share and cultivated to certain extent himself.

During the rule of Mahāraja Ranjit Singh the land assessment in Jammu region was collected in kind by *batāi* system, i e., division of crops between the state and land-holder in which 1/3 of the produce was realised from the proprietors and 5/8th from the tenants holding directly under the State. In some of the *parganās*, as for instance, in Kishtwār and Rāmnagar, where the Sikh authority had not been established or felt, the local rajas had introduced a tax known as *doaru* at the rate of one Hari Singhiā rupee (equivalent to eight annas) per homestead per annum besides *nazarānā* or tribute in form of cash and service, while in Udhampur the *rānā* chiefs realised 1/4th of the produce by appraisement. In tracts like Nawsherā, Rājouri and Riāsi, the Chib and Jarāl rajas collected the land revenue in kind at the rate of one-half, one-third and one-fourth of the produce or whatever could be appraised as fair in proportions to the yield according to current prices.[43] The revenue in cash was in some cases accepted instead of in kind. There were no measurements and no records and the payment of the revenue was not regulated by any sound principles. In areas nearer Punjab the fiscal arrangements in vogue in the Punjab had come to be adopted, as for instance in the tract of present Ranbir Singhpurā where the crops were either divided at harvest or appraised. The Sikhs usually took a fixed share of the produce from the cultivators except in the case of cash crops, for which money rates were charged.

During Maharaja Gulāb Singh's rule (1846-1857) the procedure obtaining during the Sikh rule was followed in the state in regard to the realisation of land assessment in kind, but some minor concessions were made in respect of the newly-broken land (*nāu-tor*) for large areas were lying waste which the ruler wanted speedily to be reclaimed.

In 1859, during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh it was the *kārdārs* (the land-agents of the state) who annually arranged for the cultivation of the estates. They distributed the land and upon distribution, the villages passed into the hands of the *shakdārs*, whose

42. Wingate, A., *Preliminary Report of the Settlement Operations in Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 40-41.

43. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladākh*, 1890, pp. 105.

duty was to watch the corps. At the harvest time division was made and the State took three quarters of rice, maiza millets and buck-wheat, and of oil seeds, pulses, and cotton, the share taken was nine sixteenth. This system lasted till 1860, when the state reduced its share to a little over one-half but this concession was largely discounted to devices adopted for the collection of revenue by *chaklādārs*, a class of speculating contractors, who stepped in to farm the land, and where they could not make large profits, the land was held *amāni* (on trust) in which case the state realised its share of the actual produce.[44]

In eastern parts of the Jammu region, prior to and under the Jasrotā *rāj*, it was the custom to collect the revenue by *batāi* (division) and *kankūt* (estimate) of crops, the state taking one-half from owners, two-fifths from cultivators resident in the village and one-third from those belonging to other village. The proprietorship levied as *haq biswā* from all cultivators and amounted to ten *topās* per *goond*, nearly one twentieth.

In 1860 an important change was introduced in the province of Jammu which at that time comprised seven districts and thirty *tehsils*, the land revenue which till then had been paid in kind, was collected in cash. The assessment made by the *Diwān* Kirpā Rām was said to have been favourable to the cultivators, and to have given much satisfaction. All *nazrānās* were at the same time abolished. The favourable effects of the measure were practically proved by an increase in the government revenue, the general prosperity of the farmers, and the payment of the arrears due to the treasury, which otherwise could not be realised. The land dues came to be collected by four annual instalments. Simultaneously with the introduction of the new system, the petty *Kārdārs* were replaced by respectable *tehsildārs*, each collecting about one lakh of rupees on the plains and about half that amount on the hills. These *tehsils* were grouped into *wazirāts* or districts, assessed at about three lakhs of rupees per annum.[45]

The system of revenue farming continued till 1873 when the *ryotwāri* settlement was introduced only to be resisted by the influential *chaklādārs* and middlemen. In many villages the assessment was unduly enhanced and owners and cultivators fled, and the bad season of 1877 followed and added to the disorganisation to be

44. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*, S. 1932-34 (A.D. 1885-87).

45. Bates, C.E., *A., Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 100.

succeeded by a worse scourge."[46] In 1880, assessment known as cash assessment and called as *assamiwār khewat* was made. It was an assessment on village and the basis was thought to be the average of the last three years' collection of revenue.

Thus, between 1860 and 1878 various cash settlements were made, the first apparently by *Diwān* Thākur Dāss, was shortly afterwards raised by 25 per cent, followed by land measurement and preparation of settlement papers. But these generally resulted in the land revenue being arbitrarily based which caused flight of cultivators as also of the owners from many villages and rendered large areas waste. The famine of 1877 greatly undermined the economic condition of the cultivators and added to their agony. In the district of Kathuā, the abandoned cultivable land were first distributed amongst the sepoys and servants of the state in lieu of their pay. Such lands were called *Leri*. The lands still undisposed of and all waste styled *dāg sarkāri* were entered as belonging to the State and any subsequent cultivation thereof was to be at the old *batāi* rates. This state of affairs made the land tenures very confused, increased the insecurity of the cultivators and threw big chunks of land as waste. It was not till 1887, when the first regular settlement was undertaken in the province, that confidence was restored to the land-holders, and it became possible for the fugitives to return to their lands. The old arrears of land revenue were struck off and the new assessment were based on gross produce estimates, the State share being taken as one-half of the land-lords' share of the produce after deduction of the *kamins* dues.

In the *tehsil* of Sāmbā, which had fallen a victim to the scourge of famine, when people had abandoned their lands and retired to other places to eke out their living, the deserted lands were dealt with under *halsāri* settlement in which, without undertaking any land survey or paying any heed to the entries in the village records, a village-wise list of ploughs was drawn and the land under cultivation was allotted to the land-owners and the tendants present at the rate of 12 to 16 *ghumāos* per plough and the land, abandoned by the owners who had fled, or those which the owners present declined to take and occupy, were constituted into *dāg-i-sarkāri* (State estate) and in many cases granted to the mounted soldiers (*sowārs*) put on civilian jobs in their pays exempted from payment of revenue. In some *tehsils* revenue-farming with all its evils, the worst being the

46. Wingate, A, *Preliminary Report of the Settlement Operations in Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 40-41.

rapacity of the lesseas and other intermediaries, remained the common mode of land utilisation for a number of years before the regular settlement.

In the beginning of the year 1883 fresh assessment on land were made on demand of the land-holders of all the *wazārats* (districts). The land settlement was carried out afresh after twelve years, which revealed that many *zamindārs* had added to their holdings large tract of fallow land without paying revenue on these additions. The Maharaja however, remitted all previous arrears of revenue on these for the last twelve years. But it was included in the new assessment from 1883 onwards. A settlement Department was added to all the district establishments and new *khewts* were issued to all land holders, adding newly broken tracts to it and deducting tracts eroded by rivers. This work of settlement and assessment of land tax was supervised by the district officers (*wazir wazārat*) personally.

For the guidance of revenue officials and for the sake of uniformity of the system throughout his territories the Maharaja sanctioned different sets of rules of business and procedure for *patwāris, qānūngos, tehsildārs* and *wazir wazārāts.* These regulations were published both in Dogri and Persian languages. The Register of Record of Ownership of land and other registers pertaining to land revenue administration were also standardised. These were also printed in both the languages, although record in Jammu province was kept in Dogri and in Kashmir province in Persian.

All efforts for the uplift of agriculture were found to fail for want of proper irrigation facilities. Ranbir Singh, therefore, directed his attention towards repairs of existing *kuhls* and water-ducts in the Valley and in Ladākh. A small canal in Gilgit, fed by Nālā Bunji, was washed away annually by floods, and avalanches. In 1883 its headwork was shifted to some five miles above and the canal was dug anew. This arrangement saved it from all damages which had occurred every year. Another water course was drawn from Nālā Chamu which watered more terraces which were previously not cultivated.[47] In Jammu Province however, larger irrigation schemes were implemented under a number of British engineers, such as W. H. Johnson, John Dyer and Mr. Roth. The construction of canals from the Rāvi and the Ujh were taken in hand, and the Udhampur Tawi canal was also started. The digging of a large canal from the

47. *Bi-ennial Administration Report, op. cit.*, S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83), pp. 154-55.

Chenāb at Akhnūr was also started[48] which was completed a few years after Ranbir Singh's death and was named Ranbir Canal.

Section B

State Revenue and Taxation

It has been truly said that no product is too insignificant, no person too poor, to contribute to the State.[49] This literally applied to the taxation conditions in the Kashmir Valley where every person had to pay to the State under some name, and every product thinkable was taxed. The tax on shawls which was called *dāg-i-shawl* is dated as far back as 1197 Hijri. Moorcroft who visited Kashmir in 1824 A D. describes how heavily the shawl trade and other trades were taxed in Kashmir,[50] from times immemorial. Most of these taxes had continued for many early years of Ranbir Singh's reign. Shawl industry was taxed in various manners. The wool was taxed as it entered in Kashmir; the manufacturer was taxed for every workman he employed; again he was taxed at various stages of the process according to the volume of the fabric; and lastly, the merchant was taxed before he could export the goods. Under the circumstances it was "a marval how the industry could have outlived the impositions to which it was subjected".[51] Other callings were exposed to exactions of the same sort. Even coolies who were engaged to carry luggage of travellers, had to surrender half their earnings. Butchers, bakers, carpenters, boatmen and even prostitutes, were taxed.[52]

Agricultural products were similarly taxed, and where "kind rates" prevailed the apportionment of rice, maize and pulse products was to the tune of half the gross produce to the government, whereas the half remaining with the cultivator was further burdened with various *traki* exactions,[53] leaving a balance of about one third to the zamindars.[54]

Besides the taxes on grains and shawl production, there were

48. *Ibid.*
49. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1890, p. 113.
50. Moorcroft, *Travels*, p. 74.
51. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op. cit.*, p. 113.
52. *Ibid.*
53. The table of traditional Kashmir weights is as under: One Kharwār (2 maund, 4 seers or about 90 K.G.) 16 traks, one trak has 4 manwattis; One manwatti is equal to 1 seer 5 chhataks or 1.15 K.G.
54. *Forsyth to Thornton*, dt. 18 July, 1866: Quoted in the *Cashmere Rāj*, pp. 135-36.

custom duties, and cesses collected on movement of the trade goods from one region to the other which have been in force for quite a long time. These *rāhdāri* (movement) taxes were charged at seven places in Jammu Province and at twelve places in Kashmir Valley. The Jammu collections included the salt tax, taxes called *kharmehrā* and *latakā* in Chibhāl, *zamindāri* tax in Akhnūr; *chungi* in Mir Pur and Bhimber, and *wachhā* in Udhampur. In the Valley tax called *mandi dharat* and rusūm had to be paid at Muzaffarbad, *thānādāri* tax at Kohālā, *rusūm zillādāri* and *kotwāli* tax in Pahar and *dalāli* tax at Bārāmulā.

Thus the earlier taxation policy of Ranbir Singh was to continue most of the time honoured cesses and taxes based probably on the one principle of maximum exactions from the people which they could be compelled to disgorge even at the cost of their maximum displeasure short of desertion or revolt and "the inhabitants of Kashmir grumble, but pay". The other principle of State revenue, very much compatible with the present State trading and public sector, was the idea of State monopoly of some products. Silk culture and filature, once a humble but remunerative occupation for the villagers, was taken up as a government monopoly which employed a large number or workmen, though "the profits went not to the ruled but to the ruler". Saffron formed another monopoly. So likewise tea and salt, and the aromatic plant, *Kuth.* Paper and Tobacco were added to the list later. Stone used for building purposes was another item of State monopoly and was farmed out to contractors in the form of licenses. Brick-making had similar status. Even the dead could not be buried save by licensed and privileged gravediggers. Fruit trees were also a government monopoly and wherever such a tree was planted was claimed by government so that no young fruit tree was to be found in the valley except in the government gardens.[55] Of fruits three fourth were appropriated by the government. One anna was charged annually per sheep and goat. Milk, honey, water-nuts, and reeds used for thaching were also brought under taxation. There was also a cess of from 4 to 20 annas levied on each house in the villages. Every tiller, trader, craftsman labourer and every citizen was taxed in some form or the other. The taxation policy of the State then very much resembled that of the present which is as much riddled with numerous direct and indirect taxes, issue of permits and licenses and State monopolies. The revenues accruing from such a policy of taxation were considerable. The custom-dues for the whole country

55. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* Calcutta, 1890, p. 113.

were farmed out to a contractor for four lakh rupees per annum.[56] The rates high as they were, were not unfrequently exceeded, and traders were subjected to perpetual annoyance by the contractor's agents.[57] The *dāg-i-shawl*, or shawl tax on old rates brought to Ranbir Singh's treasury an annual revenue of twelve lakhs. As soon as a shawl had been commensed on the loom, the contractor put his stamp on it, and the duty was to be paid at once at a rate of about 12% of the value of the shawl, Pandit Rāj Kāk held the farms of this duty. Besides this, there was another tax on plain shawl and on border weaving, which is quite a separate trade from shawl making and was known as *Sādā-bāfi* and *hāshiā*. This tax was farmed for Rs. 30,000.[58]

The *zar-i-bāj* was a license tax levied on trades, and was formed out for Rs. 91,000. *Niwārā* tax levied on boatmen was farmed to Pandit Lachhamanjū for Rs. 1,05,000. *Chob Faroshi*, a tax on timber and wood for fuel, transported by water throughout the valley, was also taxed. *Zāfrān*, a special tax on saffron, for which the valley is famous, yielded Rs. 21,000 per annum to the Maharaja.[59]

Another river tax levied on vegetables grown on floating islands on the Srinagar lake, and also a tax on goods carried in float over the lake, yielded Rs. 31,000.

Taxes on animals were also imposed. *Zari-i-Chāupāiān*, a tax on goats and sheep at two annas and a half per head per annum, was collected by local authorities and yielded Rs. 80,000 per annum. A grazing tax, known in Jammu as *ghiānā* or *kāh-charāi*, was farmed out for about Rs. 1,06,000 in 1882, but was later collected by district officers. Ponies and mules used for carriage purposes, were also taxed, and local officers collected this tax amounting to about Rs. 51,000 per annum.

The State monopolies also yielded substantial income—viz., *choranā puzi* (lime-kilns), about Rs. 25,000 per annum; *bāghāt*

56. The taxes on different arts, crafts and trades collected in different cities of Kashmir were as under:

Taxes realised from trades in Srinagar, Rs. 45,688; Shopiān, Rs. 1,079; Srinagar arts and crafts, Rs. 16,021; Anantnāg, Rs. 4,280; Pattan, Rs. 304; Wazārat Kamrāj, Rs. 9,152. The total receipts from custom duties at these places amounts to about Rs. 77,124; which were remitted by Ranbir Singh in 1863. Cf. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladākh*, Calcutta, 1890, pp. 113-15. and G.L. Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

57. Forsyth to Thornton, *op. cit.*

58. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op, cit.*, p. 115.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 114.

(gardens) Rs. 4,500; tobacco sale, Rs. 35,000; Silk filature, Rs. 42,000; and *post-i bhang* or dried poppy heads also called *gurdā-bhang* tax amounted to three-fourths of Government share of the gross produce. The *charas* or extract all belonged to Government and yielded Rs. 35,000.

The judicial and court services to the people were also charged in cash. Fines were imposed by judicial courts and police as *adālat* and *harkāra-bāshi*, and institution fees in civil cases, *talbānā*, etc., brought in about Rs. 13,500 in Kashmir. The amount received in Jammu under this head is not known. Fees were taken by the *qāzi* for registration or celebration of marriages and this was turned on account by the Maharaja under *zar-i-nikāh* tax, which brought a revenue of about Rs. 21,000 to the State.[60] The tax was first imposed on the Muslims during the Muslim rule in Kashmir.[61] And, last of all, the *zarab-khānā* or mint made about Rs. 75,000 per annum at the statement in coining the *chilki* rupee.

Land revenue, however, formed the bulk of the State's income, ranging from time to time somewhere between 60 to 70 per cent of the total revenues. A large portion of the revenue of Kashmir was realised from rice paid in kind. The contribution on account of other crop was in cash. The 1862 statistics reveal collection of land tax in kind (on rice) to the value of Rs. 16,93,077 *chilki* and in cash amounting to Rs. 9,62,057, out of a total income of about Rs. 51,22,000. The total revenue from Gilgit was Rs. 20,985 *chilki*, almost wholly derived from land. The receipts of 1871-72 included over Rs. 44,41,500 from land out of a total of Rs. 66,86,500 *chilki*.

The land being the main source of the revenue, it was heavily taxed all over the State under the traditional theory that all land belonged to the ruler and the tiller and farmers were suffered to cultivate at his pleasure. According to Mr. Forsyth in 1963, the apportion of rice, maize and pulse products in areas 'where kind rates prevail' was held and half of the gross produce between the government and the *zamindārs*. In addition, a charge called *trāki* was levied for various services of functionaires—one *munwatti* per *kharwār* each for *qānungo*, *patwāri* and *zillādār* or *chaukidār*; six *traks* per hundred *kharwār* as *rusūm khidmatgāri*, and seven *traks* per hundred *kharwār* as religious grant to temples. All these charges left a balance of about

60. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*, S. 1935-36.

61. *Forsyth to Thornton, op cit.*

one-third to the *zamindārs*.[62] Cash rates were levied on wheat, barley, *masūr*, flax, urud, *till*, *moong*, cotton and on one half estimated value of gross produce, and two *traks* and one *munwatti* per kharwāri.[63] The Maharaja had the monopoly of the sale of rice throughout the valley. He took the best rice as his share from the Zamindars. "This rice was sold to shawl-weavers at a fixed rate of Rs. 2 per kharwar (Re 1 per one maund, three seer). To others it was sold at the current rates. Rice is also given in rations to the army."[64]

Gilgit, the military occupation of which was costly, did not nearly pay its expenses. Its produce was small, and its peasantry, if pressure was put on them, was apt to be refractory. It was therefore deemed politic to rule them with a light hand. In the early decade of Ranbir Singh's reign, this district contributed land tax of about Rs. 21,000. The revenue of Ladākh amounted to Rs. 54,000 a year, of which about Rs. 42,000 was obtained by the cash assessment on the land, and the balance by land revenue paid in kind and by the sale of the salpetre and borax produced in Ladākh. The old system of taxing houses was given up. The income more than paid the expenses of the province.[65]

In Jammu districts, the revenue was almost universally collected in cash in regular instalments of fixed rates per *ghumāon*, and "though much heavier than in the British districts, it was only in places oppressive". The villages usually belonged to proprietors or *zamindārs*, whether jointly or in distinct shares, and to those proprietors the cultivators paid a small share of the produce. The cultivators were hereditary. Of late years under tax administration, some district officers endeavoured, especially in the Jasrotā district, to temper with and destroy the rights of both owners and cultivators with the result that the district was half depopulated. But on the whole, the Jammu cultivators were independent and confortable.[66]

There seems to be no regular budget estimates, yet quite accurate statistics were maintained under various heads which show the progressive development of revenues. In 1868, the total revenue of the state was estimated at Rs. 54,94,718; the share of Kashmir and Jammu being Rs. 28,36,718 and Rs. 25,58,000 respectively, while the

62. Rorsyth's statement of 1863, quoted in the *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh. op. cit.*, p. 114.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibib.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. Wingate, A., quoted in the *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Calcutta, *1890, op. cit.*, p. 116.

total revenue from Ladākh, Baltistān and Gilgit was one lakh of rupees in British coin. The statistics of 1871-72 however, show the total receipts of Rs. 66,86,644 *chilki* under the following heads:

Value of Government share in rice crop,	29,44,844
Revenue in cash	14,96,741
Receipts from shawl Department	60,00,000
Tribute from petty chiefs	37,163
Town duties and customs	5,76,000
Timber	1,14,210
Sheep and Goat	1,07,311
Opium	1,56,000
Offerings of Pious Hindus	98,647
Cows and Buffaloes	18,265
Ferries	15,599
Tobacco	40,840
Courts of Justice	18,692
Charas (Hemp Drug)	21,000
Saffron	34,656
Silk	50,000
Khateenah (curcumcision)	600
Receipts from Dal Lake	20,792
Singārā	35,615
Government Ponies hired	51,178
Zar-i-Qazāyā (fines on petty quarrels and wedding fees)	17,250
Mint	12,600
Stamp	9,600
Miscellaneous fines	17,230
Post office	5,312
Sale of wild fruit	1,350
Sale of Government horses	67,500
Sale of Chinār leaves	25
Fruit from government gardens	3,708
Taxes on shops, artificers and others	1,13,916
Total	66,86,644
or Imperial	41,79,152

Thus the total receipts in 1871-82 were estimated at Rs. 41,79,152 (British coin) and the civil expenditure was Rs. 4,50,600. The estimated revenue of Jammu and Kashmir State for the year 1884 was, according to a return supplied by the Punjab Government, Rs. 57,83,905-11-0 (British coin).

Expenditure

In 1879 the expenditure was estimated at about half the revenue. The expenditure on army exclusive of the expenses connected with guns and small-arm factories, was estimated to be about twenty-six lakhs (Kashmir coinage) yearly, which was equal to Rs. 25,00,000 English. A number of charges were mixed up with the military expenditure, but later a more correct system of accounts was introduced. A year after the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, a good many taxes were remitted. The state budget for 1887-88 showed that for the whole of the Maharaja's territories the estimated income was 55 lakhs only. Of this 22 lakhs were required for the army, some 10 lakhs for the Maharaja and for palace expenses, 13 lakhs for the surplus and only 10 lakhs was allotted for civil administration and public works.[67]

With a view to better the economic condition of the people, particularly the peasantry, and to enhance state revenue, a number of commercial crops were introduced by the Government in the State. Tea cultivation and sericulture particularly won the indulgence of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Tea gardens were raised in three *wazārats* in Jammu Province; the one of 80 *ghumaon* in Riāsi *wazārat*, the other of 10 *ghumaon* in Bhadu *wazārat*, and a third of 12 *ghumaon* in Udhampur *wazārat*. These 102 *ghumaon* tea gardens were scattered over 13 places[68] in the three districts. These gave employment to 119 officials and a number of farm labours. There were 18,38,305 tea shrubs which yielded 208 *maunds* of tea-leaves during the year 1882-83, which brought a revenue of Rs. 4,154. Tea leaf was sold at the rate of Rs. 20 of Rs. 40 per *maund* according to the quality of the product. A big garden laid at Samroti and expected to yield some 1500 *maunds* of leaf. did not succeed. But the experiments at other places were successful and encouraging, and the leaf was particularly reported to be of good quality.[69] In 1881, the Maharaja got imported 1900 *Maunds* of tea seeds from Palampur at a cost of Rs. 8,350.

Indigo cultivation was introduced during 1880 in the districts of

67. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

68. These tea gardens were laid at the following places; (*a*) Riāsi wazārat: 2 at Katrā, one each at Poni, Riāsi, Kotli, Sāwalā; (*b*) Bhadu wazārat: Hattā and Dongara (*c*) Udhampur wazārat: one garden each at Udhampur proper and Katrā.

69. *Bi-ennial administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*, S. 1939-40. (A.D. 1982-83), pp. 86-90.

Jammu, Manāwar and Jasrotā.Two trained Bengāli artisans were employed on a handsome salary to supervise the cultivation, who also trained 20 local persons in the trade. The seed was imported from Multān. During the years 1882 and 1883 the total area brought under indigo cultivation was 1,439 *ghumāons*, 532 in Jasrotā, 475 in Manāwar and 432 in Jammu proper.[70] The total production was 158 *maunds* of indigo and 397 *maunds* of seed during 1880-81 and 227 *maunds* indigo and 230 *maunds* seed during 1882 and 1883, the sale of which added Rs. 6,934 to the revenue.[71] Revival of grape cultivation was another useful step taken by Ranbir Singh in the Valley. Kashmir was once known for its grapes where some 20 varieties were grown.[72] But through the laziness, or the exorbitant exactions of officials, they had fallen out of cultivation, and the wild plant was seen clambering over fences or throwing graceful arms round the tall poplars".[73] The Maharaja, "wishing to assist the people by every means in his power", introduced vines from France in 1876. A 150-acres garden was laid out in the vicinity of Chashmā-Shāhi at a cost of one lakh of rupees and a French expert was put in-charge of vine plantation scheme. He imported 1,22,000 saplings from France.[74] A little time after sending out roots, the young saplings were entirely destroyed by the dreaded Phyttoxera. The Maharaja got then 5000 saplings of the Persian quality imported from the famous Jamshedi Bāgh in Shirāj, through the good offices of Colonel Sir St. John, Officer on Special Duty. Ghulām Razā and Mirzā Ākā Hussain, two Persian expert vinegrowers who brought these saplings were employed by the Maharaja for the development and popularising of vine growing in Kashmir.[75] After successful plantation of Persian vines, a large quantity of sapplings were raised out of which 1,18,410 were distributed free among the cultivators.[76] The Maharaja announced certain incentives to the cultivators, including exemption of land revenue on vine-years till the plants bore fruit, a cash reward of Rs. 10 for every 100 bushes grown successfully, and an assurance to

70. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
71. *Bi-ennial Administration Report*, S. 1937-38; Ibid. S. 1939-40, p. 85.
72. Kirpā Rām, Diwān, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* (Persian), 1868, p. 293.
73. Drought, Marion, *Afoot through the Valley of Kashmir*, p. 72.
74. *File No. 1224 of 1873*, Persian Records, SAR (J).
75. *Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*. S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-84), p. 98.
76. *Ibid*. p. 99.

purchase the entire crop on cash payment.[77] The Maharaja also established a distillary at Gupkār for which a 15 mile long mountain canal was dug out, and another water duct was prepared from Chasmā Shāhi to the distillary. These fed not only the distillary but also watered wine gardens. Two French experts were appointed to look after the distillary and the wine gardens. Some Fifty gardners were also employed in the vineyards. The State vineyards produced 405 *kharwārs* of grapes during the year 1883-84. The distillary prepared 7,894 bottles[78] of a fine quality of Barsac and Medoc wine. Its apple Brandy was also popular. The wine produced was displayed at the exhibition organised in Calcutta in 1880, where it won a Gold Medal for the Kashmir distillary. The Government of India conveyed its appreciation for the Maharaja's efforts in producing wines of standard brand.[79] After the State Distillary came in full swing, its average production was 35,000 bottles yearly, half red and half white. Some 6000 to 7000 bottles were disposed of to visitors at Rs. 14 per dozen. "The wines are made similar to Medoc and Barsoc, and are of first quality."[80]

In 1876, Maharaja Ranbir Singh introduced the cultivation of Hops in the Valley. Initially two gardens were laid out, *Bāgh-i-Doābgāh* and *Bāgh-i-Rāmpur*. The experiment was successful and two more gardens, *Bāgh-i-Ranbiri* and *Bāgh-i-Raghnāth*, were laid out. More than fifty thousand saplings were planted during 1883-84 in additional gardens.[81] The produce of hops was of the same quality as produced in England. A five-year contract as sanctioned on 28th July, 1877 in favour of Murree Brewery Company for supply of the entire produce. In addition, the Maharaja took great interest in producing many kinds of vegetables in the Valleys for which seed was procured from the Panjab and Bengāl. Some ten *kharwārs* of seed of beans from Europe and wheat from France was sold to agriculturists which gave good harvest.[82]

Saffron crop which had dwindled due to the service famine of 1877-78, could not however be revived in spite of the best efforts of the government to rehabilitate saffron cultivators. Saffron worth Rs. 2100 only could be grown during the two years, 1883 and 1884.

77. Cf. *The Ishtihar* (proclaimation) dated 17.2.1884, *Bi-ennial Administration Report* 1882-84, pp. 102 ff.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 100 and 103.
80. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p. 51.
81. *Bi-ennial administration Report*, S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-84), p. 104.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

Section C

Development of Crafts and Industries

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was alive to the necessity of encouraging crats and industries in his State as a means of subtantial employment of his Kashmiri subjects whom severe winters confined to their homes for a larger part of the year. He tried to revive and reform the traditional crafts of the valley and also to introduce new industries with State help. He made special efforts to patronise silk industry and to popularise it all over the State in 1869. Later, in 1873, mulberry plants were imported from China, and then from Japan in 1875 and were distributed among the *zamindārs*. Meanwhile, trained silk experts from Bengal, where silk industry had already made a head way, were employed to train 964 local persons, including 125 who acquired much skill in the art of reeling. A silk factory was established at Srinagar where reeling was done on 470 *charkhās*, 42 of which were water driven.[83] Cocoon reering was also introduced in Kashtwār, Bhadarwāh, Jasrotā, Manāwar Naosherā and Jammu city. A silk centre was opened at Bānihāl. The cocoon rearers were given necessary training to ensure quality production. Experiments at all the centres did not prove successful due to climatic conditions which caused a disease which struck the cocoons. In Bānihāl and Udhampur the experiments were quite successful. In 1880 sericulture was introduced in Skardū also which was only a partial success.[84] During the year 1882-83, the total production of cocoon in Jammu Province was II *māunds* and 19 *seers*, while the seed produced weighted 3 *māunds* and 34 *seers*.[85]

The Maharaja seems to have put "the Chief Justice of the Court of Srinagar, Nilāmbar Mukerji, in charge of the silk depertment also".[86] Under his management sericulture improved and developed since Bengal had a flourishing silk industry at this time and apparently Nilāmbar *Bābū* was personally interested in it as he hailed from Bangal.[87] The *Bābū* introduced the Bengali system of reeling.[88] This

83. *Report Majmui* (Urdu) S. 1930-32 (A.D. 1873-75), p. 79-80.
84. *Ibid*, 1937-38 (A.D. 1880-81), and S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83), p. 107.
85. *Ibid*, 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83), pp. 93-94.
86. Wilson Andrew, *The Abode of Snow*, pp. 396-97; Bates, C.E. *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc. , 1980, p. 61.
87. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, Vol. II, p. 802.
88. Patil, R.B. (Director of Agriculture), *Report on Kashmir Silk Industry*, p. 9.

branch of industry was in 1871 converted into a Government monopoly; twenty-two Bengalis were obtained from silk producing districts in that province to act as overseers to the Government filatures, and fourteen reelers as instructors.[89] "The efforts of the Government had been directed to the rearing and preservation of the silk-worm and a more perfect and commercial method of extracting and reeling the silk. One gold medal and five silver medals were awarded by the Maharaja annually to the most successful sericulturists".[90]

In Jammu Province this industry was entrusted to the charge of *Bābū* Govind Rām, who was also Superintendent in Charge of tea cultivation.[91] In Kashmir silk industry flourished much and brought a total income of Rs. 1,97,554 in 1875 at an expenditure of Rs. 1,33,708, which included payment of Rs. 5,237 to *zamindārs*, Rs. 51,281 to cocoon-rearers and Rs. 17,110 to reelers.[92] In Jammu, however, it was in experimental stages and fetched only Rs. 3,561 as against as expenditure of Rs. 4,287 during the years 1883-85.[93] Sericulture thus received a considerable impetus, "and silk bade fair to become one of the most important products of the Maharaja's dominions."[94]

The shawl industry which is one of the most artistic and productive of the Kashmir manufacturers, received Ranbir Singh's special attention. Although due to reasons beyond the control of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir the shawl trade was facing a great slump, yet the best shawls ever made in Kashmir were manufactured in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh between the year 1865 and 1872. "They were very fine in texture, very soft in colour, and of the most celebrated and graceful pattern, of a purely Eastern style of the decoration."[95]

The shawl industry had many prolems. Notwithstanding the reform instituted by Gulāb Singh, the plight of the 27,000 weavers continued to be hopeless. The Shawl industry had been farmed out to Pandit Rājkāk Dhar for twelve lakhs of rupees annually, who charged every wevaer Rs. 49. The weavers were at the same time kept under the *Kārkhāndārs* or manufacturers, and were prohibited from changing masters or trade. They worked hard from morning till night

89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Report Majmui* (Urdu), S. 1929-30 (A.D. 1872-73), p. 91.
92. *Ibid.*, S. 1930-32 (A.D. 1873-75).
93. *Ibid*, S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1883-85) p. 93.
94. Bates, C.E., *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc., London, 1873, p. 61.
95. Sharma, B.L., *Kashmir Awakes*, Vikas Publishers, Delhi, 1971, p. 13.

but earned only seven or eight rupees a month out of which he paid five rupees in tax which left him three rupees to live on.[96] The destitute weavers finally marched on governor Kirpā Rām's residence seeking his aid. They raised slogans and burnt the effigy of the Pandit Rājkār Dhar, the *Darogā* of shawl Department.[97] The *Darogā*, however, misrepresented the processionists and convinced *Diwān* Kirpā Rām of their recalcitrant motives. This roused his fury and he quickly brought out a company of soldiers to disperse them. In the stampede that followed a numbers of shawl-weavers jumped into the river, and a few of them got drowned. But soon the Maharaja became aware of the discontent striking the shawl-weavers. In 1868, he remitted Rs. 11 from the tax, and took several steps to popularise Kashmiri shawls. In 1867 he wrote to the Punjab Governments for the appointment of an agent in London to organise the sale of Kashmiri shawls. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab approved the Maharaja's proposal, and after some time a shawl warehouse was established in New Street, London.[98] Out of the shawl to the value of 1,30,000 being exported annually from Kashmir, about L 90,000 worth used to find their way to Europe. France monopolised about 80 percent.[99] "On the outbreak of the war between Germany and France in 1870, the shawl trade suffered a sudden and temporary collapse; the ruin of the manufacturers and merchants was only averted by the Maharaja by making large purchases to the value of several lakhs of rupees."[100] But no amount of remedial measures could revive the industry which the taxation policy of the rulers, the Franco-German War and the famine of 1878-79 killed outright. The Maharaja realising that it was a dead industry, abolished that tax altogether, retaining only a nominal duty on the export of shawls.[101] He was well posted in the events of the European war and anxiously watched its adverse effects on and the injury it had done to the shawl trade in Kashmir. He had prevented hundred of shawl makers and weavers from deserting the land by giving them State assistance for their temporary support.[102] In 1875, the Maharaja further reduced the tax from Rs. 35

96. Bamzai, P.N.K., *op.cit.*, p. 668.
97. Hussnain, F.M., *British Policy towards Kashmir*, 1974, p. 46.
98. *File No. 399 of 1869*, Persian Records, SAR(J).
99. If the remaining 10 percent went to U.S.A.; 5 to Italy, 2 percent to Russia, whereas only 1 percent to the Great Britain.
100. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p.75.
101. Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir*, pp. 668-69.
102. Temple, Richard, *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir etc.* Vol. II, p. 144.

per annum to Rs. 20 per shawl-weaver, and the total State income from this source was reduced from Rs, 5,50,000 to Rs. 2,50,000.[103] Two years later the Maharaja executed an all-out reform of the shawl Department, put *Hāji* Mukhtār Shāh at its head, and got two new designs of shawls made especially for the European market by Mr. Princep, and were named Ranbiri and Mahārājee respectively. At the same time he sanctioned a grant of one lakh of rupees to the shawl-weavers. Shawls of the new designs were exhibited at an Exhibition in London the following year.[104] These measures seem to have led to the revival of the shawl trade, and the cost of *Pashminā* sold looked up from Rs. 1,66,550 in 1879 to Rs. 8,93,983 in 1883 and the shawl taxes realised increased from Rs. 30,000 to 91,000 in these year.[105]

Carpet industry and hand made paper craft also received Ranbir Singh's care. An endeavour was made to improve the former industry. When Mr. Chapman, a European carpet trader arrived in Kashmir in about 1876 A.D., he was given all State assistance for the improvement of that industry. Mr. Chapman worked for two years and introduced new designs and improved the quality of carpets which, however, failed to satisfy a critical test in Europe. Another expert, a Frenchman named M. Gigex, came and commenced manufacturing carpets for the firm of Bon-Marche in France. Afterwards his work was taken up by another Frenchman, Mon. H. Davergne who was a clever designist and expert dyer. With his exceptional experience of shawl trade in Kashmir and a close study of the European markets, he made the business a great success.[106]

Paper-making industry also received a great encouragement. This was already an old craft of Kashmir, said to have been introduced in the valley by Sultān Zainul Ābidin during the middle of the fifteenth century, and had reached a high water mark of quality. During Ranbir Singh's reign the consumption of the paper in offices much increased with greater demand on this industry. At the same

103. Cf. *Report Majamui*, for S. 1930-34 (A.D.1873-75).

104. Cf. *Report Majamui*, for S. 1932-34(A.D.1875-77).

105. *The Bi-ennial Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*, for 1882 and 1883, pp. 84-85, records following figures, showing the progress made by the shawl industry during a period of five years:

S. Year.	*Cost of Pashmina sold*	*Shawl Tax Realised*
S. 1936 (1879)	Rs. 1,66,550	Rs. 30,000
S. 1937 (1880)	Rs. 3,83,850	Rs. 40,000
S. 1938 (1881)	Rs. 6,10,100	Rs. 75,000
S. 1939 (1882)	Rs. 8,96,586	Rs. 75,000
S. 1940 (1883)	Rs. 8,93,983	Rs. 91,000

106. Kaul, Pandit Anand Ram, *Jammu and Kashmir State*, p. 42.

time Kashmir supplied a best quality paper to the Punjab Government also. In order to meet the growing demand Ranbir Singh introduced the manufacture of paper in Jammu Province also. Though high quality paper was produced in some of the units, the industry did not prosper except in the Jammu *wazārat*.[107] Paper-Machie handicraft also consumed a part of hand-made paper. The Maharaja tried to popularise paper-machie by presenting these articles to his European friends. He also remitted the tax on paper-machie manufactures in 1876.

The Maharaja not only encouraged the production of various industries and handicrafts by providing State assistance to these, but also took personal interest in pushing the sale of manufactures and finding markets for them. For this purpose he arranged to exhibit the arts and crafts of Kashmir in the exhibitions organised in India and abroad. One such exhibition was held in Calcutta, in 1884 by the orders of Lord Ripon, the Viceroy of India, and the Maharaja detailed a number of arts exhibits of Kashmir at that exhibition through Sir Oliver St. John, Officer on Special Duty. This included among others silk fabrics like *gabbās*, *namdās*, curtains, etc., ornamented silver and bronze wares, shawl and carpets, *pusham*, paper tanned leather, various types of ornamented fancy utensils, furs and skins and wines.[108] The white grape-wine was particularly liked by experts and it won a silver medal for the State.[109]

An annual fair in Jammu was also established on State level, which used to start on the 20th November every year. The Maharaja encouraged trade by offering prizes for the best goods exhibited. During the continuance of the fair the customs duties were likewise reduced to half the ordinary rates.[110] The Maharaja also established a Development Department which also looked after the work of mines and industries. In 1882 Pandit Prakāsh Joo and Babu Mahesh Chander were appointed Development officers for Kashmir and Jammu respectively. In all the 8 Wazārats of Jammu, such officers were separately appointed to supervise the development work.[111]

As one of the measures for the development of industries and handicrafts Ranbir Singh began to tap the mineral resources of the

107. *Report Majamui* (Urdu) *of Jammu and Kashmir State, for* S. 1930-32, (A.D. 1873-75).

108. *Report Majamui* (Urdu) for S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1883-84), pp. 29-33.

109. *Ibid*, pp. 34-35.

110. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladākh*, 1980, p. 402.

111. *Report Mazamui* (Urdu) *Nizam Jammu-w-Kashmir*, for S. 1929-30 (1872-73 A.D.).

State. In 1862 the Maharaja appointed Fredric Drew of the Geological Survey of Great Britain to conduct geological investigations in the state. By 1872 as many as 21 mines were located. The iron and coal mines of Kotly in Riāsi *tehsil* were most important of these. The iron found in these mines was of the best quality and the suspension bridge constructed at Rāmban over the Chenāb was fabricated from the iron are obtained from these mines. Iron mines at Soj and Kothār in the Kashmir Valley as also in Bhaderwāh were also worked. The Kashmiris regard the Soj iron as superior to the iron imported from India for the purpose of agricultural implements, and the blacksmiths always speak of it most favourably.[112] Iron was also located in Rāmnagar, Nowsherā, Udhampur and Ladākh.

Coal was also located at Dandelā in Riāsi *tehsil.* Samples of this coal were exhibited at the Lahore exhibition in 1864. This attracted considerable attention as the strata was stated to be of carbonious series by the Geological Survey of India. Lead was located in Riāsi and Muzafferābād. Sulphide of lead was also located at these two places and at Rukshū in Ladākh and Skardū. A copper ore was located in the Nubrā Valley in Ladākh. Soda was also found at three places in Ladākh. Sulphur was worked at Pugā in Ladākh. Gypsem was also found there. All these minerals were brought for sale at Srinagar. Lignite beds 15 to 18 inches thick were located at Kotli. In 1873 the discovery of Alum in Ladākh and some other minerals was reported.[113]

In 1881 there was a chance discovery of Sapphire mine in Pādar in the Kashtwār *wazārat* and an officer was appointed to look after the affair. It was found that there was a high mountain some 8 to 10 miles from Pādar which remained covered by snow all the year round. By chance a rock slipped from that mountain which led to the discovery of Sapphire stone. Some local people collected some pieces of the precious stone and sold away to a few merchants from Kulu. The matter came to the notice of the Maharaja who immediately took measures to protect the mine.[114] During the year 1872 and 1873 the working of the mine yielded 72,207 *tolās* of Sapphire (Kharar). Out of which 27,217 *tolās* were sold to the merchants for four lakh rupees. The remaining quantity was deposited in the State Treasury. Some of the stones were got cut into embedding pieces

112. Lawrence, Walter, R., *the Valley of Kashmir*, p. 63.
113. *File No. 604 of 1930*-Persian Records, SAR (J).
114. *Report Mazamui, Nizām Jammu-w-Kashmir*, S. 1937-38 (A.D. 1880-81) p. 98.

and were displaced at the exhibitions held in Calcutta and London during 1884.[115]

All these State measures adopted for the development of industries and handicrafts met with appreciable success. Some industries like that of shawl and carpet, which had heavily suffered because of adverse circumstances and calamities, were re-established and restored to their former status and popularity, leading to the amelioration of the condition of workers and labourers. In spite of famines and other obstacles Ranbir Singh's efforts led to abundance and lowering of prices.

Section D

Trade and Commerce

Trade and commerce, the traditional mainstay of the Kashmir economy, were encouraged by Ranbir Singh. He adopted adequate measures to remove hinderances blocking the flow of goods from the State to the various neighbouring countries. He had realised the importance of good communications both inside the State and with the rest of the country, for the furtherance of trade and swift movement of commodities. A few pathways and roads were therefore, constructed, paths were repaired, and the cart road between Rāwalpindi and Srinagar was begun. Similarly, the card road between Jammu and the valley was built. A telegraph and postal service was instituted. These measures greately improved the transport facilities. Consequently new commodities appeared in the State to expand the scope of trade.

A number of custom duties were imposed on all commercial goods which were in vogue for a long time. To regularise these, customs regulations was compiled early in Ranbir Singh's reign and was printed in April, 1859, and a regular Customs Department was established. The traditional import and export duties, however, proved prohibitive and almost stifled trade between the State and British India. The Maharaja, therefore, decided to make drastic reduction in taxes and duties.

In 1864 considerable reductions were made in the customs duties levied on goods imported into Kashmir; the method of collection was simplified, and a transit duty of 5% on goods conveyed via Srinagar was imposed in lieu of the fiscal exactions which had led

115. *Report Majmui, Nizam Jammu-w-Kashmir*, S. 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83), pp. 109-111.

to the abandonment of that trade route between British India, Tibet and eastern Turkistān.[116] These liberal measures were followed by a market increase in the trade between Kashmir and the adjoining British districts. The trade with Sialkot was reported to have increased in value from Rs. 1,35,000 to Rs. 1,71,000 per annum; that with Jullundur and Hoshiārpur, to have more than doubled, chiefly in the items of saccharine produce and native cloth; in Gujarāt, there was said to have been a general increase in the trade with Kashmir to the value of 50 per cent; the export of salt from Jhelum was stated to exhibit a similar increase and the shawl wool and saffron imported into Kāngrā district showed an increase of Rs. 9000.[117]

In 1866 the duties paid on goods between Jammu and Kashmir were reduced from between 30 to 50 per cent to 8 per cent on piece goods and 12 per cent on *khallīār*; and in 1869 the rates were still further reduced to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.[118] In 1867 His Highness decided to apply the rate of five per cent, charged for goods in transit from the Punjab to Yārand, from all imports from Central Asia or India of which the bond was not broken in the State territories. However, towards the close of 1869 duties on merchandise passing to and from Turkistān were abolished in deference to the wishes of the British Government.[119] Inspite of these concessions traders of Central Asia experienced inconveniences, as complaints of the exactions committed by Kashmir officials at Leh were of frequent occurrence. A British Officer was therefore deputed to Ladākh in 1867 for the purpose of securing adherence to the tarrif of 1864, and cofidence of traders was re-established.[120] Finally in 1870 a trade treaty was concluded with the British Indian Government. Under its terms, the Maharaja undertook to forego in return for the same concession made by the India Government for goods imported into the State through British India.[121]

In addition to the customs duty, taxes were collected on movement of the trade goods from one division to the other within the State. This system was in existence for a long time. These taxes were collected at seven places in Jammu and at twelve places in Kashmir, and caused much inconvenience to the traders. The Maharaja

116. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties and Engagements*, etc., Vol. I.

117. *General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories*, for the year 1864-65, p. 34.

118. Bates, C.E. *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, etc. p. 102.

119. *Ibid.*

120. Aitchison, C.U. *Treaties and Engagements*, Vol. I.

121. Kaul, G.L. *Kashmir Then and Now*, p. 86.

ordered remission of all these taxes to enable trade goods to pass from one division to the other without payment of any extra duty. He further ordered that customs duty be collected only at the point of entry into the State territory.[122] The taxes imposed on the shop-keepers of Srinagar, Anantnāg, Bārāmūlā, Sopore, Shopiān, Pāmpore and Bijbehārā were reduced in 1867.[123] In 1879 the Maharaja remitted in full all taxes, which at that time used to yield an annual revenue of Rs. 77,125.[124] The Maharaja also built two well known commercial centres in Srinagar, one at Maharāj Ganj and the other at Mahārāj Bāzār, and ordered that all commercial transactions should take place in the new markets.[125] In order to direct and channelise trade he appointed in May, 1882 three leading merchants. —Both Rāj, Nand Shāh and Samad Joo—as Controllers of Trade in the State.[126]

As a result of these measures trade and commerce improved so that exports from Jammu and Kashmir to the Punjab amounted to about 20 lakhs (13,50,000 from Kashmir and 6,50,000 from Jammu) as against this the state imported goods from the Punjab worth about Rs. 18,50,000, including 13,20,500 for Jammu province.[127] According to *Bi-ennial Administration Report* for the year 1882-83, the total value of trade amounted to Rs. 2,17,67,085, including 1,31,80,320 being the value of imports and 85,86,765 being the value of exports. This figure shows an increase of over 12 lakhs in commerce.[128] The region-wise break up of the value of goods exported and imported was as under :

Region	*Import*	*Export*
Jammu	61,46,716	31,86,486
Kashmir	30,25,229	20,46,006
Ladākh	37,90,197	33,06,643
Gilgit	01,50,637	00,12,216
Iskardū	67,541	35,414
Total	1,31,80,320	85,86,765

122. *Report Majmui* (*Urdu*), *Nizam-i-Jammu-w-Kashmir*, etc.

123. *File No. 215 of S. 1916* (A.D. *1859*), Persian Records, SAR(J).

124. *Report Majmui* (*Urdu*), *op. cit.* S. 1935-36 (1878-80).

125. Hasan, Pir Ghulam, Khuiham, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Persian,) Vol. II, p. 851.

126. Aitchison, C.U. *Treaties and Engagement*, Vol. I.

127. Bates, C.E. *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 72.

128. *Report Majmui Jammu-w-Kashmir for the year 1939-40.* (1882-83 A.D.), pp. 77-78.

In the case of Ladākh the trade at least increased to double in a ten years time.[129]

In spite of these reforms and improvements in the condition of trade and commerce, agriculture and industry, the economic condition of the people could not show much improvement due to corruption. Francis Young Husband makes the following unsympathetic observation with reference to Ranbir Singh's reign.

"The whole country, infact, was still in the grip of a grinding officialdom, and the officials were the remnants of a by gone, ignorant and destructive age, when dynasties and institutions and life itself were in daily danger, when nothing was fixed and lasting, when all was liable to change and at the risk of chance, and each man had to make what he could while he could and when, in consequence, a man of honesty and public spirit had no more chance of surviving than a baby would have in a battle".[130]

The observation, however, was no more than the utterances of a cynic who had probably forgotten that conditions in British India were no better and famines there constantly struck one corner or the other of the British Indian Empire, and corruption there could no more be justified because it had disguised itself under the garb of such terms as *dāli* and gifts. The economy of the state doubtless was not one to inspire much confidence, "but it redounds to the credit of Ranbir Singh that things started moving during his life-time. His officers were corrupt and had inherited a legacy of gloom. But this well intentioned ruler was determined to give some relief to his oppressed people, and by the seventies (he was enthroned in 1857) some progress was definitely registered. The labourer classes, as a general rule, were well fed, well clothed and fairly housed. Although the standard of living was not high, they had thanks to Ranbir Singh, enough to eat. A rupee would buy 80 to 100 lbs of rice or lbs. of meat or 60 lbs of milk".[131]

"Fruit was so plentiful that mulberries, apples and apricots near the villages were left to rot on the grounds".[132] And on the rivers fish would not fetch a price. There was no crime; durnkness was unknown.[133]

129. *Ibid.* pp. 79-81.
130. Younghusband, Francis, *The Valley of Kashmir*, 160.
131. Jyoti Bhushan, *Jammu and Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 31.
132. Jyoti Bhushan, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 31.
133. *Ibid*, note no. 40 on pp. 158-59.

Central Asian Trade

The Central Asian trade had some fascination for the rulers of Kashmir and Jammu. Commercial relations seen to have existed from time immemorial between Central Asian countries, particularly Tibet and Kashmir and Ladākh. Maharaja Gulāb Singh conquered Ladākh in 1835 and invaded Tibet in 1841 and regularised trade relations between Kashmir and Tibet via Ladākh by the treaty of September 1842 which laid down that shawl *pushm* and other trade goods from Tibet will be routed to Kashmir "according to the old tradition by way of Ladākh and also the keeping open of the trade route between Ladākh and Lhāsā"[134] and *Lapchak* and *Chabā*[135] periodical trade missions based on reciprocal obligations were to continue as in the past.[136] These commercial arrangements and the friendly relations between Lahāsā and Jammu were further strengthened by another treaty concluded in 1858 between Maharaja Ranbir Singh and the ruler of Lahāsā. Both the treaties sought to preserve and promote commercial relations between the two countries.

According to a long established tradition, commercial missions and presents along with *kāfilās* of trade good were regularly exchanged between Ladākh and Lhāsā as a religious routine. All the wool of Changthang (north-western Tibet) was applied to Ladākh only. Ladākh and Tibet had mutually agreed to exchange some trade missions on the basis of reciprocity, which were both commercial and religious in nature. The Dalāi Lāmā used to send a merchant to Leh every year with a few hundred bales of brick tea. This was known as the *Chabā* or *Chabbā* (tea marcants) mission. The Ladākhi Kings used to send some presents to His Holiness (Dalāi Lāmā). This was known as *lapchak* or *lapchok*, meaning "yearly *salaam*". The real purpose behind these missions was commercial. Thus the Tibetans under the garb of *Chabā* took a few hundred horse loads of tea to Ladākh and returned with dry apricots, saffron and sugar, etc; and so were the Ladākhi caravans allowed to carry large quantities of other commodities for trading purposes.[137] These missions continued

134. Charak, S.D.S. *Gulābnāmā*, Eng. Trans., Delhi 1977, pp. 234-35.

135. Francke, A.H., *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, Vol. II, p. 137; C.L. Datta, *Ladakh and Western Himalyan Politics, 1819-1848*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 66 and 151.

136. Francke, A.H., *Antiquities*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 116-17; Ramsay, *Western Tibet*, pp. 85-86.

137. Datta, C.L. *Ladakh and Western Himalayan Politics*, op. cit., pp. 65-66; *File No. 254*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

during Ranbir Singh's reign also when the transaction became a government affair and *Lapchak* came to be referred to as Agent of the government,"[138] and used to be nominated by the *Wazir Wazārat* at Leh. It used to carry with him a *kāfilā* of 270 horse-or yāk loads of goods. The goods exported from Ladākh included dried apricots, curants, saffron and textile fabrics. On his return journey, the *lapchak* used to bring mainly shawl wool and tea. There used to be the ceremonial exchange of gifts between *lapchak*, the Chinese Resident at Lahāsā, the Dalāi Lāma and the heads of certain monasteries in Tibet.

Such annual exchange of missions led to the continuation of cordial "relations between His Highness' servants and the servants of the Lahāsā Government. A *lapchak* who went to Lahāsā in 1881 with the usual trade goods returned in January 1882 bringing some gifts and letters from Dev-Yong, the ruler of Lahāsā as also from the officers of the Government of China stationed at Lahāsā.[139] Similarly, Yong-Chhong, the Lhāsan agent brought trade goods to Ladākh in the winter of 1882, but as a large quantity of cheap tea had arrived in Ladākh from Kulu and Kashmir, the sale of Lahāsā tea fetched no profits, so that a large quantity of tea had to be taken back to Change-Thang and Rudok where it was sold. The *lapchak* which was sent to Lahāsā in November 1885, carried presents and usual ceremonial letters on behalf of the Maharaja to fifteen dignitaries including Ambān, the Chinese Resident at Lahāsā; Pote Gyalpo, the ruler of Lhāsā and the heads of various *Gonpās*. The presents sent included silken scrafs and *damu* tea of grean and black varities.[140]

The *lapchakt* from Lhāsā used to receive a *khilat* and a cash allowance of one hundred *chilki* rupees, in addition to usual ordinary gifts.[141] The maintenance of such cordial relations encouraged a general trade with central Asian countries. Ranbir Singh further adopted a "liberal and enlightened policy" of reduction of customs duties on goods imported into Kashmir and simplification of transit duty, resulting in "an extended trade with the towns of the populous valley of Kashmir and ultimately with eastern Turkistān."[142]

Ranbir Singh's trade relations with central Asian countries favourable projected the political image of Jammu and Kashmir

138. *Bi-ennial Adm. Report, op. cit.*, for 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83), p. 52.
139. *Ibid*, p. 52.
140. *File No. 980 of S. 1942* (A.D. 1885), Persian Records, SAR (J).
141. *File No. 776 of S. 1943* (A.D. 1886), Persian Records, SAR (J).
142. Viceroy of India's Notification No. 118-A. Revenue dated 23.6.1864, *File No. 433 of S. 1941*, Persian Records, SAR (J).

state as a considerable power in that region. These were, therefore considered grave danger to British interests. Mr. T.D. forsyth, commissioner Jullundur Division made no secret of the jealousy created due to clash of British interests in Central Asia. He was of the opinion that, "Kashmir has gone so far as to render the line of our northern boundary and power very faint, the Maharaja has acquired a position not only of an equal, but even superior".[143]

Forsyth had taken considerable interest for some time past in the subject of central Asian trade and had paid a visit to the fair at Nejni Novograd, and had gathered "the unanimous opinion of the merchants" whom he consulted "that in Yārkand and in Tibet, England ought to have the field entirely to herself".[144] It was the same legacy of camauflaging of political interests in the garb of commercial rights which J.D. Cunningham had left behind while thwarting General Zorawar Singh's Tibetan conquests. Forsyth seems to have picked up its bits from the secret recesses of the Foreign Department. He was determined to end the monopoly of shawl trade through Leh and Srinagar, and hence suggested that instead of taking to Leh-Yārkand route "a shorter and easier route to the present friendly country, Khotan, may be opended with but little trouble—as the rulers of Khotan during the last two years, have thrown off the Chinese yoke and are anxious to establish friendly relations with the British Government".[145] To press his point he raised many objections to the State's system of transit duties, and kept forwarding complaints of extortions made by the State officials at Leh, and openly asserted that "Independent of the question of abolition of transit duties, I think there are different reasons now for establishing an Agent at Ladākh to protect British interests."[146] In his imperialistic zeal he even suggested to the Maharaja to give his attention "to the protection of the merchants and their goods and to give an impetus to the development of that trade."[147] Thornton, the secretary to the Government of the Punjab was unanimous with Forsyth on the point that "among most serious obstacles to the growth of trade, are duties charged on goods" and even suggested the total abolition of duties."[148] The Maharaja abolished these duties with the hope

143. Bajpai, S.C., *The Northern Frontier of India*, p. 66.

144. Forsyth to Thornton, dated 18.7.1866, *Foreign Secret E. Nos. 111-122*, NAI.

145. Forsyth to Thornton, dated 30.7.1866, *For Sec. Nos. 111-122*, NAI.

146. *Ibid.*

147. *File No. 433 of S. 1941* (A.D. 1884), Persian Records, SAR(J).

148. *Ibid.*

that the state would be compensated in increased trade. British officials now recommended to their government the establishment of a military post in Ladākh 'either for offensive or defensive purpose'.[149] Forsyth pressed the need for the appointment of a British trade Agent at Leh to watch the events beyond the boarders in central Asia than for watching the interests of the British Indian traders, and even emphasised that the time had come when the British Government should assert her supremacy and prohibit the Maharaja from deputing any agent whatever to Yārkand or other foreign states without the sanction of the British Government.[150] Lord Lawrence, however, "well aware of the tendency for annexation to follow trade"[151] preferred to depute a British Medical men at Leh 'as an easier pill to swallow than a purely political officer'[152] Dr. Caylay was appointed for the purpose who arbitrarily announced the lifting of the ban on the export of shawl via Kulu and Rāmpur.[153] Meanwhile affairs in Central Asia took a different political turn in 1869 and Atāligh Ghāzi came to power there and sent an envoy to Calcutta. Lord Mayo sent Forsyth to Yārkand in company with the envoy, to collect full and trusworthy information concerning everything about eastern Turkistan and the neighbouring countries. The Maharaja provided all necessary facilities of transport, supply of food-grains etc, to Forsyth Mission so sincerely that he even punished his officers on a charge of dereliction of duty.[154]

On the suggestions made by Mr. Forsyth a commercial Treaty consisting of ten articles was concluded between the British Government and Maharaja Ranbir Singh on 2 April, 1870 which was later rectified by lord Mayo at Sialkot on 2 May, 1870. Under the Treaty the British Government undertook to refund to the State Government the customs duties on all goods declared at ports in British India as "bonded for Kashmir", as well as the import duty on all such goods declared for central Asia. The Maharaja, in turn undertook to return to free trade between central Asia and British India through his territories. All taxation and restrictions were removed. The British Government also agreed to abolish the export duty then levied on

149. Bajpai, S. C. *The Northern Frontier of India*, p. 66.
150. Forsyth of Thornton, 30.7.1866, For Sec. Nos. 111-122, NAI.
151. Bajpai, S.C., *The Northern Frontier of India*, p. 33.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
153. *File No. 303*, Persian Records, SAR (J).
154. *File No. 435 of S. 1941*, Maharaja's orders dated 21 Kartik, 1927 (3 Nov. 1869) Persian Records, SAR (J).

shawls and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territores of the Maharaja and exported beyond the limits of British India. The treaty also provided for the appointment of Joint Commissioner—one nominated by the British and the other nominated by the Maharaja—with powers to arrange for the convenience of travellers on trade routes to settle disputes and to exercise magisterial powers: Rules for the guidance of the Joint Commissioners were also sanctioned.

The effects of the Treaty were various and numerous. The State had to incur various responsibilities and make certain sacrifices, namely the demarcation of a route 450 miles long; surrender jurisdiction for certain purposes on the entire lenght of 450 miles; the provision of facilities for carrying out decisions of the Joint Commissioners, and the abstention from levying any transit duties on the high way as also on goods transmitted in bond to British India. Besides, it became necessary for the State to maintain the Bridges and ferries, to construst and maintain *serais* and to undertake measures for protection of travellers and to provide all types of facilities to British agents travelling in connection with this Treaty.[155] Consequently, when Mr. Forsyth was again appointed in 1873, to conduct a mission to Yārkand to conclude a commercial treaty with its ruler and that of Kāshgar, the Maharaja had to provide all the facilities to the mission and make all arrangements regarding transport, supplies and accommodations. There were "altogether 621 horses and *yāks* employed and 6,476 coolies of whom 1,236 were *dooly* bearers. These men and cattles were distributed over the different stages and kept for over two months".[156] And in return for all such elaborate services the State was to receive the then nebulous advantage of refund of customs duty on overseas trade".[157]

The Treaty was couched in deceptive language so that the State Government was taken in by its language and superfluous bearing. As the preamble of the Treaty show, it was negotiated on the basis of equality as between two independent states, "the High Contracting Parties" agreeing of the basis of mutual concessions. It is noteworthy that even over the land covered by the 450 mile long free highway, Article IV of the Treaty recognised the Maharaja's independent possession and lays down:

155. *Memorandum submitted to Indian States Committee (Financial)* in April, 1932.

156. Bellew, H.W. "*Kashmir and Kashgar*", quoted by Bamzai, P.N.K. in *History of Kashmir*, p. 673.

157. *Memorandum submitted to Indian States Committee (Financial)* in April, 1932.

"The Maharajas shall continue to possess the same rights of full sovereignty as in any other part of his territories, which right shall not be interfered with by the Joint Commissioner."

But beneath all this jugglary of words that fact remains that Maharaja Ranbir Singh lost much of political influence and stature, as well as central Asian trade. His place there was taken by the British Government of India, and when Forsyth entered into a trade agreement with the Amir of Yārkand and Kāshgar on Feburary 2, 1874 which secured concessions for the export of the British products in central Asia, the Jammu and Kashmir was entirely ousted from Central Asian markets. "With this Treaty the British effectively and peacefully usurped all political and commercial power in central Asia including western China and Tibet and the prestige and influence of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in the region suffered greatly."[158] A British representative was appointed in the court of the Amir of Yārkand who was designated as "Special Assistant to the Kashmir Resident for Chinese Affairs,"[159] a strage compound of words betraying the future intentions of the British in Kashmir.

Section E

Currency

Three dynasties had ruled in Jammu and Kashmir regions, one after the other, during the nineteen century—the Durrānis, the Sikhs and, last of all, the Dogrās. It was therefore natural that there was a confusion and considerable excitement among the trading people with reference to the various silver coins in circulation. During Maharaja Gulāb Singh's time not less than five[160] varities of rupee were in circulation. First of all there was the old Hari Singh's rupee which had been introduced in Kashmir Valley during the Sikh *Rāj* by the governor *Sardār* Hari Singh. It was equivalent to eight British annas.[161] They were few in number and were for the most part full in weight and good metal. Secondly, there was the *Nānak Shāhi* rupee which was in large circulation in the state. It did not have fixed value and it ranged from 12 to 16 annas, but it was not so common as the Hari Singh rupees. A third variety, called *jau* rupee was in circulation only

158. Palit, Maj-Gen. D.K., *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, p. 65.
159. Hussnain, F.M., *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, p. 44.
160. *G.P.D., File No. 44 of 1896, SAR (J).*
161. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p. 159.

in Ladākh, and in value it was treated as the 1/5th of the British rupee.[162] Fourthly, there was the British rupee itself, rarely immitated and freely taken. It was in circulation throughout the state and was locally called a double or *dubbal* rupees and had the value of sixteen British annas.[163]

Finally, there was the old *chilki* rupee which was issued by Maharaja Gulāb Singh soon after his accession and valued originally at ten British annas.[164] But in consequence of the dishonest practice of the State officials in charge of the mint, these old *chilki* rupees were greatly debased and the *Darbār* found itself forced to lower the value generally to eight annas, but the quantity of alloy differed to the extent of many annas;[165] in 1855 Maharaja Gulāb Singh got some of the old *chilki* rupees struck at Srinagar mint but these fabric were "ordinary make".[166] The device being rude and easily immitated, those were debased greatly. In addition to it Kashmir silver smiths had freely used their own coins along with the government money, and mixed in them as much copper as suited their purpose. The old *chilkis* however, spread all over the country and they formed the general circulating medium for petty trade.[167]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh had his own currency so he continued the circulation of local coins and issued in 1860 a new *chilki* rupee which was of full weight and good metal. The *chilki* coined at Srinagar contained six *māshās* when the new *chīlkis* were brought in, no attempt seems to have been made to recall the absolete coins and in order to discourage defraud he issued strict orders against the silver-smiths who were debasing the old coins and to some extent he was successful.[168] But due to the negligence of the government and of the police, the operations of the coiners went on unchecked, though coining was of course forbidden by laws of the country. When by change the counterfeit coining by certain goldsmiths in Srinagar was detected, the old *chilkis* were recalled by order and the bad money was to be broken. This measure gave rise to loud and wide spread complaints. Meanwhile, another silver coin was struck at the Srinagar mint in 1859 which was known as *Khām* rupee, the nominal value of which was eight annas imperial.

162. *Gen. and Pol. Deptt. C.S.O.E.R., File No.* 55 of 1899, SAR (J).
163. Bleezby, G.B., *List of Coins & Medals*, London, 1904, p. 24.
164. *Ibid.*
165. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1890, p. 159.
166. Bleezby, G.B., *op. cit.*, p. 24.
167. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op. cit.*, p. 159.
168. Bleezby, G.B. *op. cit.*, p.24.

Major Bates found the art of coining "still in crude state", but he says that "the mint at Jammu is very great improvement of the establishment which until lately existed at Srinagar". The stamping of coins was effected by machinery driven by steam power; with this exception all other processes were dependent on manual labour. "From an inspection of the coins it seems evident that the dies are not identical, the difference probably arising from each being separately cut by hand".[169]

Although Ranbir Singh sought to improve coinage, yet the circulation of several types of rupees in the state caused a great inconvenience to the people, particularly the traders. Some of them were not accepting some types of coins of the state and preferred to bargain in British rupee which had fixed value and could easily be converted and exchanged. The local currency lacked this merit. Ranbir Singh's currency suffered from another blow, and that was the depreciating of silver towards the latter years of his reign. It resulted in the lowering of the value of *chilki* rupees from 10 annas to 9 and sometimes even less. Consequently the state employees lost their monthly pay from 8 per cent to 15 per cent. The inflow of capital from the Punjab and other regions also received a set back alongwith trade and the further complication of a fluctuating exchange had the disturbing effect on the growth of trade. The currency, therefore, required complete overhauling which was done immediately on the accession of Maharaja Pratāp Singh when the State currency was replaced by the British currency.[170]

The *Chilki* coins bear the inscribed letters "J.H.S." which are found on all Christian churches. Their presence on the *chilki* coins of the Dogrā rulers has led to a lively controversy. Some ascribe the device to a native Christian, Anand Massih, who took service under Maharaja Gulāb Singh and induced the Maharaja to use this device as these would be pleasing to the British.[171] Some say these letters stand for "*Jammu Hari Singhiā*" parallel to *Hari Singhiā* coin in Kashmir. In the opinion of others the letters are "J.K.S.", standing for Jammu-Kashmir State. On the identity of letters, however, on official report confirms that the incription is "J.H.S." It further informs that these letters were added to the legend on the coins in S. 1906 A.D. 1849 during the regin of Maharaja Gulāb Singh. It adds that the *chilki* coins were struck in the Jammu mint in S. 1928 (A.D. 1871) and

169. Bates, Charles Ellison, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 103.
170. *Gen. and Pol. Deptt. C.S.O.E.R., File No. 8 of 1889*, SAR (J).
171. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p. 160.

these also bore the same inscription.[172]

In order to improve his coinage the Maharaja asked the Government of India to get him a coining machinery. He was advised to get his coins minted at the Calcutta mint but he turned down as detrimental both to his revenue and to his dignity.[173] The Maharaja issued copper pice also which were struck in the Jammu mint, on one side and '*Zarb-i-Jammu*' on the other, the former in Dogri and the latter in Persian characters. Another series of one pice copper coin struck during the reign bore the inscription '*Sri Gadādharji Sahāi—Zarab-i-Ladākh qalmro Jammu*'. The *Rājā Sahāi chilkis* were struck at Srinagar. On one side of it is inscribed '*Sheonāth Sahai*' and on the other '*Zarab-i-Srinagar*, Sambat IHS with a cross. The coin contained six *māshās* of pure silver, and was equal to ten annas English standard. Promissory Notes called *Shrikar* were also issued in various denominations ranging from Re. 1 to Rs. 1,000. But this paper money was issued for a very limited use for payment of land revenue and other Government dues.[174]

Appendix

The Famine of 1877

In 1877-78 there occurred a famine, a general disaster in many parts of the country, which led to the appointment of the First Famine Commission headed by Mr. Mac Donnall. Though the famine struck the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State also, its effects in the Valley of Kashmir were much more severe. It was an inevitable calamity which involved both the government and the people in its inextricable meshes, and had not the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja Ranbir Singh come to the aid of the starving people (and the State spent about 10 lakhs of rupees) the fate of the people would have been deplorably worse.[1]

The famine broke out as the result of natural calamities, but

172. *File No. 2116 of S. 1948* (A.D. 1891) Persian Records, SAR (J).

173. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p. 159.

174. *Bi-ennial Administration Report, Jammu and Kashmir State*, for S. 1932-34, (A.D. 1875-77) Urdu.

1. Jalali, J.L.K. *Economics of Foodgrains in Kashmir*, p. 65.

seems to have been partially aggravated by official neglect and mismanagement. In October, 1876 when the *kharif* crop was being harvested an untimely snowfall occurred, followed by continuous rains for many days. This resulted in the grains lying in the fields being drenched and ultimately rot there. The old system of assessment which delayed reaping operations for revenue collection may have been partially responsible for the catastrophy as the crops should have been stored safely long before October. Even the grass used as fodder for the cattle could not escape rot and contagion with the result that a large number of cattle died. Whatever little *shāli* was saved gave a poor—yield of rice. One *trak* of *shāli* which normally yielded three to four seers of rice, now yielded only 1½ or at the most two seers of rice. Earliest the *Rabi* crop had failed in the adjoining districts of Muzaffarābād, Poonch and Kashtwār, and the *zamindārs* of the valley had sold much of their produce to the traders from those areas. Obviously the untimely rains and snow could not be anticipated.[2] But as there was sufficient storage of grains in the Government stores for distribution among the people, the effects of the famine were not felt for about six months. But by the month of April 1877 all the stocks had been exhausted and the problem assumed an enormous shape. Added to these was the difficulty of transport which rendered immediate imports impossible. Arrangements were made to import grains via Bānihāl. The rains had damaged the road and bridges on the Bānihāl route also and the bridge at Digdol was washed away, with the result that a huge stock of grain rot at Digdol. The fruit crop in the valley was also destroyed and even the vegetables were damaged by some sort of disease. To add to the hardships of the people, even the *Rabi* crop of 1878 was also damaged by incessant rains".[3] The situation was further aggravated by *wazir* Punnu, the Governor of Kashmir, who ordered search of their houses and deprived them of whatever little they had.[4] Complaints of corruption and oppression by his officials were received by the Maharaja. His contemporary historian, *Peer* Ghulām Hassan Khuihāmi, "prepared a memorandum in Persian verse and submitted the same to Maharaja Ranbir Singh. It had the desired effect and the people were delivered of the tyrrany of *wazir* Punnu and relief measures were ordered by

2. *Bi-ennial Adm. Report of Jammu and Kashmir State,* (Urdu) for S. 1935-36 (A.D. 1878-79).

3. *Ibid.*

4. Hasan, Pir Ghulam Khuikami, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 464.

the Maharaja.[5] Immediate steps were taken to import grains, from the neighbouring Punjab. A sum of Rs. one lakh was remitted to the Government of the Punjab with the request to help purchase of grains. Arrangement were made to rush the grains to the valley via Murree and Kohālā.

The impact of the famine was so great that people in large numbers began to migrate to Jammu and Punjab. The *rāhdāri* system added to their worries. As they could not travel through the prescribed routes without permit they took to difficult routes and many perished on the way. From times immemorial the routes from the valley were guarded and no Kashmiri could leave the valley without a passport. In view of the prevailing agony, the Maharaja abolished the *rāhdāri* system and permitted free movement of the people. He opened 74 free *langers* 33 in the city of Srinagar, 27 in *mufassil* and 14 at various stages on the routes leading to Jammu and Murree. As many as 10,74,235 got free food at the *langars* in the valley while more than thirty thousand people were served free food enroute Banihāly, Pir-Punjāl and Kohālā.[6]

Some officers were also deputed to Rāwalpindi, Jhelum and Siālkot districts to purchase and rush grains to the valley. His Highness issued an *ishtihār* exempting from customs duty the grains imported by any local dealer and also declared that whosoever imported grains worth Rs. 20,000 rupees would get a cash award of Rs. 500 and a *khilat* Rs. 500. As transport arrangements were still found unsatisfactory and ponies and mules were not readily available, the Maharaja announced a cent percent increase in the existing transport rates.

In October 1878, large quantities of grains purchased in the Punjab living at Thanna, Rāmban and Chenani were got transport by head-loads. Although the grains so imported cost Rs. 15-14-6 (British coin) per *kharwār*, the Maharaja ordered it to be sold at Rs. 4-4-0 per *kharwār*. The sale rate of *makki* and *singhārā* was also reduced by four annas a *kharwār*. The Maharaja also remitted the land revenue in the affected areas.

The Government of India deputed Hon'ble H.S. Cunningham (a Judge of the Calcutta High Court) who was a number of the Famine

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 4.

6. *The Bi-ennial Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State*, for the year 1878-79 makes it clear that 2,11,276 meals were served to the people who left the Valley, each person staying at each centre/stage for three or four days, giving a total of about 7 to 8 per head.

Commission to enquire into the famine conditions in the State. He was accompanied by Mr. F. Henvey, the officer on special duty in Kashmir. They met the Maharaja in October, 1878. After obtaining full information regarding the steps so far taken to meet the situation, it was decided that 2,00,000 *māunds* of good grains should be immediately purchased in the Punjab. It was also decided that one lakh maunds would be purchased and transported by the Punjab Government, the cost being met by His Highness. The balance of one lakh maunds should be purchased by the officer of the State direct, who would also be responsible for its transport. Mr. Henvey suggested that fodder for the pack-animals should be supplied by the State Government to the contractors appointed by the Punjab Government.

Regarding the rates fixed for the sale of grains, the Maharaja was of the opinion that the cheaper rates fixed by him might continue. The Commission was of the view that the present policy could cause much mismanagement as the richer sections would make large purchases at cheaper rates and then earn large profits by its re-sale. Mr Henvey said that while at Sialkat rice was available at eleven seers per rupee it was being supplied at thirty-two seers per rupee at Srinagar, whereas the rate should have been five seers per rupee. After much discussion it was finally decided to raise the sale rate of *shāli* from two rupee (*chilki* coin) to three rupees (*chilki* coin) per *kharwār*. The government of the Punjab arranged to transport and make available at Srinagar one lakh maunds of grains by 1st June, 1879.

The State Government made its own arrangements for the purchase and transport of foodgrains and 1,31,561 maunds of foodgrains reached Srinagar by June, 1879. The bridge at Rāmban on the Jammu Srinagar road was improved to enable the loaded camels to pass.

In consultation with the Lieuteant Governor of the Punjab a committee of officials and non-officials was set up to look to the supply arrangements at Srinagar. Thirteen members were nominated to it, of which 2 were European, seven Kashmiri, 1 non-official, and four state officials: *Bābū* Nilāmbar Mukerjee (*mashir-darjā awwal*); Syed Wazir Ali (*dewān-i-māl*) Nawab Mardān Ali Akhā Khān and Dr. Gopāl Chand. The committee was given full powers to take necessary steps to mitigate the suffering of the people. It got the city population re-enumerated. Besides the government stores from which *shāli* was used in a fixed quantity at cheaper rates a number of shops were also opened in the city from where additional ration could be obtained at

a slightly higher rate.

In June the same year Ranbir Singh went to Srinagar to personaly supervise the arrangements, in spite of the cholera raging in the valley and also at Bānihāl. *Dewān* Badri Nāth, Governor of Kashmir, reported that 20,00 *kharwārs of shāli* was available in the stores. His Highness reduced the sale price of *shāli* from Rs. 3 to Rs. 2 (*chilki* coin) per *kharwār*. In June 1879 the Maharaja issued orders that his government would purchase the *shāli* at these times the fixed sale-rate and pay Rs. 6 (*chilki* coin) per *kharwār* to anybody who had any stock to sell. Two officers were appointed to supervise the sale and they were assisted by the necessary staff and respectable citizens.

Arrangements were also made to further expedite the imports from the Punjab and the Maharaja undertook to compensate the loss of packponies, etc., which might die on the way. He got about two lakh *kharwārs* of turnip to be grown in the state gardens to provide additional wholesome food to the people. The crop, however, failed as some disease spoiled young legumes.

After the *Kharif* crop of 1878 was harvested, the Maharaja arranged transport of 40,000 *kharwār* of *shāli* by boats and labourers. Even the horses in the State stables were used for transport purposes, The existing number of godowns which was 12 was raised to 23. He also ordered storage of 1,500 *kharwārs* of *shāli* in each godown. He fixed the scale of supply at two *traks* per adult and one *trak* per child per fortnight.

Instead of supply being made from Government depots 200 dealers were appointed in the city who were entrusted with sale of *shāli* on a commission of four annas per *kharwār*. A citizens committee headed by *Hāji* Mukhtār Shāh, was appointed to supervise and manage the supply of rations. The committee had 14 members—12 Muslims and 2 Kashmir Pandits. To provide work to the unemployed, the Maharaja started construction and repair works at 27 places in and around the city. The total number of working days the labour was employed numbered 10,12,238.[7]

In short during the famine, the Maharaja got 1,95,714 maunds of foodgrains imported from the Punjab at a total cost of Rs. 39,70,044 (*chilki* coin). The average landed cost was Rs. 20-4-9 per maund. The foodgrains were sold to the public at Rs. 3-1-6 per maund. The

7. *Bi-ennial Administration Report, op. cit*, for S. 1935-36, (A.D. 1878-79) in Urdu; *File No. 747 of 1877, 102 and 798 of 1878* Persian Records, SAR(J).

State thus incurred a loss of Rs. 33,64, 195-3-3 (*chilki*). Another sum of Rs. 88, 145-15-3 was spent on feeding the poor in the *langers*. The labour employed in construction works was paid Rs. 1,94,587-9-6.[8]

In addition the Maharaja ordered following remissions:

1. *tarki* tax	Rs. 2,09,000
2. *dāg-i-shawl*	Rs. 4,96,000
3. tax on crafts	Rs. 77,152
4. *zar-i-nikāh*	Rs. 20,663

Thus it seems that Maharaja Ranbir Singh did all that was humanly possible for him to fight out the calamity and left no stone unturned for saving the lives of the maximum number of suffers. But the philanthropist Ranbir Singh was shocked at the connived conspiracy of maligning him in spite of all the exertion he did for the good of the people of Kashmir. He felt very unhappy when on 15 March 1879 he received a letter from the officer on special duty in Kashmir enclosing a complaint that hundreds of famines-stricken people were drowned by the officials of the Maharaja in the Wullar lake. When the story of the deadly famine filtered through to the Punjab, there was an out burst of anger at the mismanagement of affairs in the State. Simultaneously, the Anglo-Indian Press started a tirade against the Maharaja.[9] The British Government getting a handle to condemn the Maharaja's administration and to demoralise him into agreeing to more concessions tried to plant their own officers in the valley and on its frontiers. The gravest charges of neglect and dreadful cruelty were brought against him. He was accused of having drowned people by boatloads in the Wullar during the famine so as to be saved of the expense of feeding them.[10]

The Maharaja vehemently protested against all this and demanded an open inquiry in the wild allegations being imputed against him. He also asked the Officer on Special Duty to reveal the names of his informers. It was revaled that a certain Har Gopāl who was a pleader, had informed the British Government that in order to stop Kashmiris from migrating nearly one hundred famine-stricken people were got drowned in the lake. Frederick Henry Cooper came to Srinagar to enquire into these allegations. Even the Lord Bishop of Calcutta

8. *Ibid.*
9. *Bi-ennial Administration Report, op. cit*, for 1811-82.
10. Bomzas, P. N. K., *History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1974, p. 671.

visited Kashmir to find out the truth about the starvation deaths,[11] Ranbir Singh heroically challenged the base calumny and when an inquiry was instituted he was exhonerated.[12]

Ranbir Singh personally conducted an enquiry into the whole affair and found Pandits Hargopāl Kaul, Sāligrām Kaul and their associates guilty of spreading the wild rumour. They were suitably punished, and the government of India were informed of the action.[13] Both the culprits, who had been interned in Bāhū Fort in Jammu, proved a sterner stuff and it was not long before both the brothers fled from the fort and reached the adjoining British territory of Sialkot.[14]

Ranbir Singh's endeavours for meeting the challenge of a grave natural calamity which had struck almost whole of India then, were really appreciable. The famine wrought devastation equally in many parts of the country; the valley being more vulnerable on account of its greater susceptibility to the vageries of climate, floods, snow and occasional heavy rainfall, and because of more difficult access and its isolated situation, the famine conditions caused greater nervousness as well as destruction. But situation there was in no way an exception. In British India, the year 1867-1868 witnessed a severe famine which took a heavy toll of human lives in Orissa. During the next ten years there were local famines in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Rajputana in 1868-1869, and in Bihar in 1873.[15] Then followed another terrible famine in 1876 which lasted for nearly two years, and extended over a wide area. "On all these occasions various measures were adopted by the Government of India to afford relief to the people, but they were not very effective."[16] Similarly, the same wave of famine had struck the valley that years and Ranbir Singh's measures stamped out the calamity in two years time. He exerted all his resources and spent incredible amounts to save human lives. It was a strange logic of British authorities to allege the famine in the valley was due to the mis-rule of the officials,[17] when a similar appalling famine was devastating their territories also. Neither were the

11. Hussain, F.M. *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 44-45.

12. Bamzai, P.N.K., *Hist of Kashmir*, p. 671.

13. *Bi-ennial Adm. Report, op. cit*, for 1877-78.

14. Kilam, Jia Lal, *A Hist. of Kashmiri Pandits*, p. 283.

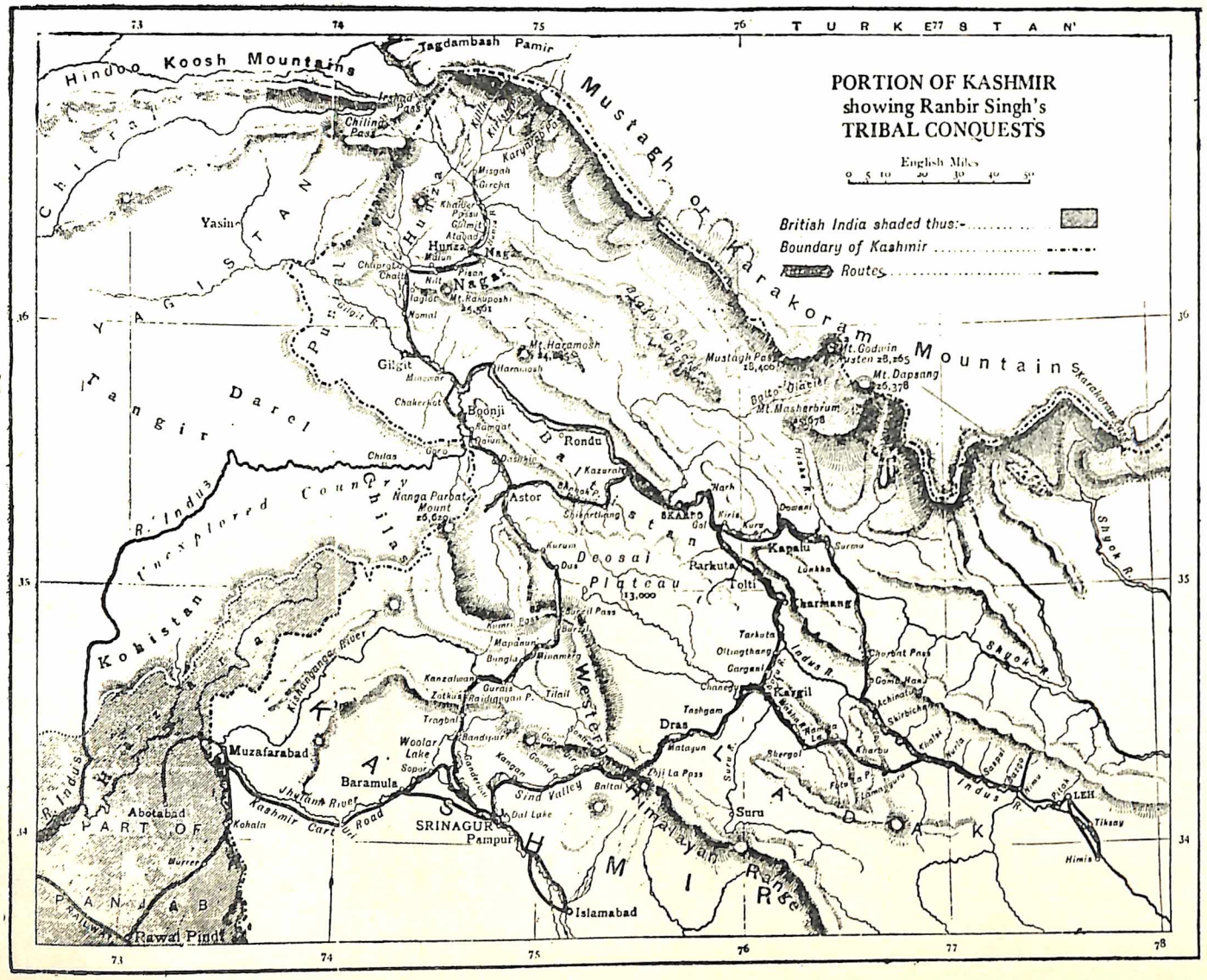
15. Majumdar, R.C., H.C., Rajachaudhuri, K. Datta, *An Adv. History of India*, 3rd ed. Macmillan India, 1974, pp. 864-65.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 865.

17. Nicholson, A.P., *Scraps of Paper*, pp. 89-90.

Pandits responsible for the desperate plight of shawl weavers whose trade with Europe had been ruined by the Framco-German War. And even a political Agent could not have stopped the early rains and snow which began to deluge the country in the winter of 1877, sweeping away the ripening harvest of rice and maize; or have saved in the spring the rotting crops and fruit trees.[18] Maharaja Ranbir Singh emptied his treasury to send grain to the starving".[19] It was during two years that the Paramount Power should have helped Kashmir. But they built only a few alms houses on the border, and sent some grain from the Punjab, little of which reached the people.[20] And it was shameful for such a government to conspire with a few of their over-shrewd agents in Kashmir to exploit the real calamity of the people for their political ends. Lord Ripon the Governor-General of India, however, appreciated measures adopted by the Maharaja to relieve the distress of his people.[21] The sole object which the Maharaja had in view was that of saving life and that too at any cost which he did and for which he "is still remembered as the most benevolent rular Kashmir can well be proud of".[22]

18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. Hasan Pir Ghulam, Khuikhami, *Tarikh-op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 4.
22. Jalali, J.L.K., *Economics of Foodgrains in Kashmir*, p. 74.


PORTION OF KASHMIR
showing Ranbir Singh's
TRIBAL CONQUESTS
English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
British India shaded thus:-
Boundary of Kashmir
Routes
TURKESTAN
Tagdambash Pamir
Hindoo Koosh Mountains
Mustagh or Karakoram Mountains
Yasin
Hunza
Nagar
Gilgit
Chitral
Tangir
Darel
Kohistan
Boonji
Rondu
Astor
Nanga Parbat Mount
Deosai Plateau
13,000
Skardo
Kapalu
Parkuta
Tolti
Kharmang
Kargil
Dras
Suru
Leh
Muzafarabad
Baramula
SRINAGUR
Pampur
Woolar Lake
Dal Lake
Abotabad
Rawal Pindi
Islamabad
Kashmir Cart Road
Jhylum River
Kishenganga River
Sind Valley
Himalayan Range
Indus R.
Shyok R.
Karakoram Mountains
Mustagh Pass
Mt. Godwin Austen
Mt. Dapsang
Mt. Masherbrum
Mt. Haramosh
Nanga Parbat
Chilinji Pass
Burzil Pass
Zoji La Pass
Fotu La Pass
Chorbat Pass
Ladak R.
Unexplored Country
PART OF PANJAB
KASHMIR
LADAK

CHAPTER

6

Taming the Recalcitrant Frontier

1. Expeditions

Ranbir Singh's achievements were those of peace but he never eschewed war and justly desired the repossession of Gilgit and its dependencies which had been conquered and lost by his father.

Although the Gilgit Memorandum, ignoring the fact of the right of conquest, wistfully highlights that 'Gulab Singh had no right, legal or moral, over Ladākh or Baltistān what to Speak of Gilgit'[1] yet that empire builder better knew that the conquest of Gilgit and other dependencies of Dardistān,[2] was necessary for the proper

1. Hussain, F. M., *Gilgit, the Northern Gate of India*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 28.

2. Dardistān, or the land of the Dards have several divisions, each big or small valley forming a separate, tiny principality or republic. Of these, the most important were—Gilgit, Se, Hasorā, Puniāl, Nagar Nunzā, Ishkomān, Yāsin, Chitrāl, Mastinj and about a dozen tiny republics, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Thalichā, Koli, Palus, Bāmar, Harban, Thānk, Thur, Chilās, etc.

"Chilās is one of the larger of these republics, its people are called by the other Dards "Bhute". The Sikhs sent an expedition to Chilās under one Sujā Singh when Mihan Singh was the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, about the year 1843, but it was required. The expedition sent by Maharaja Gulāb

defence of the north western tribal frontier. Chilās, Gilgit and its dependencies had been brought under Sikh control as early as 1841, and Astor or Hasurā had been occupied by Nathu Shāh for the Sikhs in 1842. When Gulāb Singh acquired Kashmir by the treaty of Amritsar, it was understood that he acquired all the claims on these areas and Gilgit that the Sikh Government had possessed 1841. Nathu Shāh the Sikh governor, also entered Gulāb Singh's service and he was deputed to the charge of the frontier territorities. He went to take possession of Gilgit for Gulāb Singh. The Dogrā troops relieved the Sikh posts at Astore and Gilgit easily. Most of the Sikh soldiers who were perhaps not more than a hundred, took service under the new rulers.[3] Soon after in 1847, when the Raja of the neighbouring principality of Hunzā, incensed by the continued encroachment of his territories by Gulāb Singh's men, and probably envious of his newly acquired power and sovereignty, attacked across the border of Gilgit for plunder, the Dogrā governor, Nathu Shāh retaliated by leading a Dogrā force into Hunzā.[4] Nathu Shāh, however, was killed along with Raja Karim Khān of Gilgit, and his force was routed. Maharaja Gulāb Singh made frantic appeals to the British for help, who advised him to despath more troops to Gilgit and fortify it with arms, ammunition and provisions.[5] The British could not come to his help as they were themselves busy in 1848 in consolidating their position in the Cis-Satluj States and foreseeing a rising in the truncated Lahore Kingdom. The Hunzāits were streghtened by Gaur Rehmān of Puniāl as well as the people of Dārel. This united force occupied the Gilgit Fort,[6] doing away with the Dogrā dominance in that region for a short spell of time. Gulāb Singh, however, despatched two columns of Dogrās, one from Astor and the other from Skardu. Gaur Rahmān was defeated and had to withdraw to Puniāl. The Dogrās reoccupied Gilgit and peace

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Singh (in 1850-51) had good effects. Since that time the Chilāsis have been in a sense tributary; they now pay to the Maharaja a tribute of 100 goats and about two ounces of gold dust; otherwise they are free". Drew: *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 456-459; *For Sec. July, 1877, Nos. 34-608*, NAI.

3. Panikkar, K. M., *Founding of the Kashmir State*, pp. 142.

4. Drew, F., *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, Delhi, 1971, pp. 98-99; Charak, S. D. S., *Gulāb*, Eng. Tr., 1977, p. 386, 386 n; Hashmatullah Khan. *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, p. 783.

5. *Henry Montgomery to Gulāb Singh*, 13 Jan. 1848.

6. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, 1937, pp. 783-4.

was reestablished on the basis of the former state of things.[7] Karim Khān's son Muhammad Khān was recognised as Raja of Gilgit. Bhūp Singh and Sant Singh, two of Gulāb Singh's officers, remined behind as administrators. This arrangement continued for four years during which time peace prevailed on that frontier.

At the end of this period provocation came from the Chilāsis, a Dard race inhabiting a long valley on the west of Diyāmir or Nāngā Parbat. They used to make occasional expeditions into the Astor Valley for plunder of cattle and enslaving people. It was these raids that determined Maharaja Gulāb Singh to send a punitive expedition against Chilās in 1851,[8] under the command of Diwān Hari Chand, Wazir Zorāwarū, Colonel Bijai Singh and others.[9] One force went direct from Kashmir, and one advanced by the Māzenu Pass. The Dogrās were in great straits for provisions, as the communications were not well kept up. The men and women of Chilās offered a stubborn resistance and a substantial portion of the invading force was destroyed. But the Dogrās held on to their pickets and at last, by a strategem, succeeded in taking the Chief stronghold of the Chilāsis, a fort two or three miles from the Indus River, and reduced those people to some degree of obedience but not without suffering over one thousand soldiers as dead and wounded.[10]

Again in 1852, Gaur Rehmān,[11] with the help of the Raja or Hunzā, attacked Gilgit. At that time Sant Singh was *thānādār* or commander, at Gilgit Fort; their was another fort Nāupurā, a couple of miles off, held by a Gurkhā regiment, under Rām-Dhin Commandant; and Colonel Bhūp Singh was in command of the reserve at Bawanji and Astor. Gāur Rehmān made a surprise attack and surrounded and isolated the two forts, Bhūp Singh advanced to their relief with some 1200 men. He crossed the Nilā Dhār and

7. *For Sec. July, 1877, Nos. 34-60*, NAI, Hashmatullah, p. 785.

8. Kirpa Ram, *Gulābnāmā* (Persian), 1876, p. 397; Drew, F., *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, op. cit.*, p. 398.

9. Hashmatullah, Khan, *Tārikh-i-Jammu, op. cit.*, 784.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Gāur Rehmān was the eldest son of Mulk Imām, the ruler of Yāsin. He was a most blood thirsty men; as much so perhaps, though he had not the same opportunities of killing on a large scale, as Theodore of Abyassinia...the Dards generally are rather careless of life, but with his deeds they were disgusted... They say that when he was ill he would have some men killed for *niyāzi* that is, as a propitiatory sacrifice. He seems to have had a special enmity and spite against the people of Gilgit, who suffered terribly under his two reigns, but to have spared the Puniāl people.

reached the bank of the Gilgit River where he was surrounded and caught in a trap. After a few days' desperate fighting the starved Dogrās were all killed except a hundred or two who were taken prisoner and sold into slavery.[12]

Gāur Rehmān suddenly surrounded and isolated the two forts of Gilgit and Nāurpurā. The fort of Nāupurā, garrisoned by Gorkhās, was located on a platueau 250 feet above the Gilgit plain. An adjutant with two or three hundred men left Gilgit fort to succour Nāupurā garrison and succeeded in entering that fort. But here, too, rations failed and, besides the supply of water was cut off by the enemy, and in desperation the Dogrās sued for peace and were allowed to leave the fort. They were, however, treacherously attacked; about three hundred were killed and a few were made slaves. The garrison of Gilgit fort met almost the same fate and fell into the hands of the Dards and were killed, along with all the Gurkhā women in that fort. Only one women escaped and swam across the Indus and reached Bunji to tell the story. Thus the Dogrās were expelled from the region of Dardistān lying on the right bank of the Indus. Gāur Rehmān once again recovered Gilgit and ruled there in peace till his death in 1860.[13]

From the year 1852, when these events happened, onwards for eight years, Gulāb Singh's boundary below Haramosh remained at the Indus. It seems to have been Gulāb Singh's policy to advance no farther. It was left for Maharaja Ranbir Singh to reconquer Gilgit and its dependencies in 1860.[14]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was inclined more towards consolidating and organizing the dominions he had inherited, and had no fancy for spectacular and far-flung acquisition of territories. His military activities in the tribal frontier seem to be conditioned by the British interests in Central Asia which were in conflict with those of Russia and China, and of Ranbir Singh who, in attempting to consolidate his rule in immediately adjacent regions was forced, in 1860, to renew the conflict in Gilgit.[15] That year he sent a strong force under the command of Colonel (later General) Devi Singh Nārāiniā, a contingent some 3, 000 strong including the Raghūnāth, the Fateh Shibji and the Rudra Shibnāth.[16] The Dogrās crossed the Indus

12. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 441-42; Hashmatullah Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 785-788.
13. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 441-43; Hashmatullah Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 787-88.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Palit, Maj-Gen. D. K., *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, Dehra Dun, 1972, p. 59.
16. *Ibid.*

river and advanced on Gilgit. The strong fortifications raised by Gāur Rehmān "and thought by the Dards to be a work quite impregnable",[17] were surrounded and attacked by them. The Dards resisted with all the might, Gāuhar Rehmān, who was at Yāsin,[18] suddenly died before the Dogrā force reached Gilgit. The news undoubtedly disheartened the people in Gilgit, who could not make much resistance to the assault.[19] A cannon-ball which passed through the door of the fort killed Wahāb,[20] the *wazir*, of Gāuhar Rehmān. This decided the fate of Gilgit. The people gave in and the Dogrās occupied the area and after that the hold of the Dogrās on the fort itself was never lost. Ali Dād Khān, a descendant of the late Raja of Gilgit was, however, made nominal ruler as tributary of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. This settled the Gilgit affair in an appreciable manner.

The holding of Gilgit. however, required reduction of the adjoining territory of Yāsin, and reckoning on a general disorganization of the Yāsin power from Gāur Rehmān's death, the Dogrā leader determined to advance father to follow up the victory. Yāsin was easily taken on 16 September, 1860.[21] But instead of garrisoning his men in this distant province Devi Singh preferred to install a local as Governor, and Azmat Shāh, a son of the old ruler of Yāsin and first cousin to Gāur Rehmān, was chosen for the purpose.[22] In Puniāl (or Pāyal), the local chieftain, Raja Isā Bāgdur,[23] was reins-

17. Drew, F., *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, Reprint*, New Delhi, 1971. p. 444.

18. Hashmatullah, *Tārikh-i-Jammu* (Urdu), Aligarh, 1939, p. 790.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Gazetteer of Jammu and Kashmir*, 1890, p. 138.

21. Drew, F., *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, op. cit.*, p. 444.

22. *Ibid*; Bajpai, S. C., *The Northern Frontier of India*, pp. 69-70.

23. Raja Isā Bāgdur of Puniāl belonged to the line of the old Rajas of that country. "It must have been about the time of the Sikh invasion of Gilgit that he incurred the enmity of Gāur Rehmān, and was obliged to leave his home; he took refuse first in Gilgit, then in Chilās, and ultimately he came to Kashmir, and there received a grant of land. When the reconquest of Gilgit was planned, he accompanied the Maharaja's troops, and the advance was continued into the country of his hereditary chiefship, he was placed in power, and welcomed by the people, who had for some years been subject to the blood-thirsty Gāur Rehmān. Ever since that time he has held Puniāl, aided by and aiding the Maharaja's troops in all the later troubles.

At the time of his reinstatement he acquired a bit of country which had never before been in the hands of his family. This was the valley of Ishokomān, which leads up northwards from nearly opposite Gākuj. It

tated by Devi Singh. Isā Bāgdur (or Bahadur), the hereditary chief, incurring the wrath of Gāur Rehmān, had fled his country and sought refuge at the Dogrā court at Srinagar. He had accompanied the Dogrā force of Devi Singh. At the time of reinstallation Isā Bāgdur also acquired the territory of Ishkomān, previously a part of Yāsin.[24]

The arrangement made in Yāsin, however, broke down as soon as the Dogrās turned their back. The Yāsin is expelled poor Azmat Shāh who had to flee for his life. "This was all done so quickly that when the Dogrā army on their return reached Gilgit, which is but half a-dozen marches from Yāsin, they found Azmat Shāh already there a refugee, he having come by a mountain path in his flight".[25] Mulk Amān, son and successor of Gāur Rehmān, again occupied Yāsin. For about three years the Dogras did not disturb Yāsin. During this three year's respite from border conflicts Maharaja's endeavours were directed towards strengthening his hold on Gilgit, and Puniāl which were to serve as spring board for his 'leap-forward' policy in the unknown land of the Dard tribes.

After the war, though for a time peace prevailed there, a feeling of stifle denmity between the two sides existed which was sure before long to show itself in action. Various events occurred, among them the harassment, plunder and detention of merchants sent by the Maharaja to by horses, and traversing the routes between Gilgit and Badakshān through Yāsin. This action of the Yāsin's determined the Maharaja to send a punitive expedition to Yāsin.

Early in 1863, the Maharaja sent a punitive force led by Col. (later General) Hoshiārā "a bold, dashing, perhaps rash, leader, to Yāsin Little resistance was made at the place itself. But the Yāsin people and forces were collected at a place called Marorikot, about a day's march higher up the valley the women and children having also taken shelter in the fort. Thither the Dogras followed; on their approach the Yāsinis came out to give battle in front. The Yāsinis were defeated and broken; some fled to the hills, among them was Raja Mulk Amān; others fled to the fort; these the Dogras is not pursuit followed in before the gates could be closed, and there began

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was granted to Isā Bāgdur by Azmat Shāh, the few days ruler of Yāsin; of old it belonged to Yāsin. Although the grantor almost immediately lost all his power, yet it remained for four years (or by one account six years) in the hands of Isā Bāgdur; then in further struggles, he lost it, and at this day it is with Yāsin.

24. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, *pp.* 444-45.

25. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, p. 446.

first a hand-to-hand fight and then the indiscriminate slaughter that is so apt to follow the taking of a place by assault".[26]

After their defeat the Yāsin's accepted the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Yāsin was placed under Mir Wali, borther of Mulk Amān, who singed an agreement dated 22nd Bhādon, S. 1921 (4 Sept. 1864) declaring his loyalty to the Maharaja.[27] Yāsin, however, remained a continuous trouble-spot for many years afterwards.

The occupation of Yāsin and Puniāl by the Dogras made all the frontier tribes restless rendering the conditions there quite fluid. Even the presence of a large Dogra force in Gilgit was not enough to keep their spirits harnessed. The reduction of Yāsinis whipped the people of Hunzā to provocative activities. Likewise they started harassing the trade caravans traversing the Hunzā route for Pāmirs. In 1866, a Dogra force has to be mobilized against the inaccessible Hunzā. The permission of the intermediary principality of Nagar was sought for the Dogras to pass through in their advance. The ruler of Hunzā came to a favourable understanding and the Dogra forces advanced on the Nagar side of the Hunzā river until they reached a spot opposite to and within gunshot of one of the Hunzā forts. But the crossing of the river seemed quite a difficult affair, as the river flows between cliffs of some height and no practicable road could be found down and up them. The advance was therefore, obstructed and while the plans for crossing the river were in progress, the ruler of Nagar[28] broke of alliance with the Dogras. Finding themselves vulnerable, the Dorgas became panic-striken and in consternation they retreated, "or more accurately perhaps fled".[29] In this disgraceful way they returned to Gilgit.[30]

Sometimes commanders of even powerful armies commit errors, particularly in unknown lands, in their over-zeal for safety. This retreat was one of those errors, displaying or at least giving an impression of weakness on the part of the Dogras, causing all the

26. *Ibid.*, p. 446.

27. *File No. 294 of Samvat 1921* (A.D. 1864), Persian Records, SAR(J).

28. About the treacherous nature of the people of Hunzā and Nagar, E.F. Knight observes: "The ruler of these two states were, as might be expected, ignorant and bloodthirsty scoundrels faithless to their treaty obligations and incapable of respecting anything but force"—Knight, E.F., *'Where Three Empires Meet'*, Longman's, Green & Co., London, March, 1935 edition, p. 99.

29. Drew, F., *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, op. cit*, p. 447.

30. *Ibid.*

hostile frontier people to combine against them with a confidence and strong hope of success in expelling them out of the Dard country.[31]

A most formidable confederation of the frontier Rajas was made through the efforts of *wazir* Rehmat of Yāsin, and headed by Malik Amān, the ruler of Chitrāl.

A year or two before, this *wazir* Rehmat had paid his respects to the Maharaja at Jammu coming on the part of the Raja of Yāsin. He had now accompanied the Dogra force to Nagar, and for some time after its retreat to Gilgit had remained with them, but "one day, leaving his camp standing, he disappeared he made his way to Yāsin"[32] construing Dogra forced retreat perhaps to their weakness in their conflict with the frontier tribal rulers of Gilgit.

2. The Tribal Invasion of Gilgit

In spite of the presence of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's force in Gilgit, conditions in frontier regions remained unstable. An alliance of the frontier ralas was concluded by *wazir* Rehmat of Yāsin. In a month or two a large army, augmented by those from various mountain states invaded Gilgit. Imān-ul-Mulk, the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl, also joined the confederation as its head. Their forces took most of the Dogra forts enroute "by treachery within them". Forts of Gajuk and Bubar had also fallen, but that of Sher bravely held out. Raja Isā Bahādur was himself within it with 100 Dogra Sepoys. It posed a threat to the invaders. So long as the fort held out, the main force could not proceed further. Mir Wali, brother of the then Raja of Yāsin,[33] helped by the people around, besieged Sher with vigour, but they could make little impression on it. The fort being on the usual road, obstructed the advance of the invaders on account of constant fire kept up from within the fort, and compelled them to deflect for away higher up the mountains, a dangerous unexplored path into Gilgit. This caused some delay in reaching Gilgit which gave the Dogras there to improve their position. When finally the invaders reached Gilgit fort and invested it, the Dogras had amassed sufficient supplies and provisions with the result that they were able to stand out for several days, repulsing several enemy attempts to storm the

31. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, p. 447; Hasmatullah, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, *op. cit.*, p. 794; Palit, D.K., *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, 1972, p. 60.
32. Drew, F., *op.cit.*, p. 447.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 448.
34. Leitner, Dr. G.W., *Results of a tour in Dardistan*, etc.

forts and to inflict heavy losses on the enemy. The Dogra force in Gilgit thus "help out successfully against more than 20,000 of the allied Dards, headed by Amān-ul-Mulk, Ghazan Khān and Mir Wali.[34]

Before the confederates had reorganised their expedition the news of this invasion had reached Kashmir, and Ranbir Singh had despatched reinforcements, about 3,000 strong,[35] under the charge of wazir Zorāwarū and Colonel Bije Singh. They proceeded direct to Bunji and took it by storm meeting some feeble resistance. They then speeded for Gilgit and effected a landing on the right bank of the Indus. As the rumour of their arrival spread, Imān-ul-mulk, his troops and allies hurriedly decamped and found safety in hurried dispersal and fled away to their mountains. The whole confederation melted away like the spring snowfall. But it provoked effective retaliation. In September 1866 an expedition was sent into Darel to inflict punishment on the invaders as a retribution for the late invasion. The main body under *wazir* Zorāwarū and Colonel Bija Singh, went by the Naupurā ravine, which is almost exactly in front of Gligit; a second division went up a side valley from Singhal. The only opposition met with was to the main force offered by Amān-ul-Mulk of Yāsin and his people, who had come to help the Darelis and had taken up a defensive position at a place where a ravine debouches into the main Darvel Valley. Colonel Bijay Singh, an experienced and wary soldier, scaled the steep ascents of the ravine and took the enemy by surprise who fled pell-mell. After about two days both the columns joined. There was no more opposition, the country of Darel lay open to the Dogras. Of the seven village forts, the Dogras only reached four of them. They stayed there for about a week during which period the elders of the region tendered their submission and held negotiations. Thereafter the Dogras withdrew after getting guarantees of peace, but they "certainly had shown the Darelis that their country was not inaccessible".[36] The main Dogra force then returned to Kashmir and only the usual garrison remained at Gligit.

In 1867, the relentless Yāsini for, Amān-ul-Mulk, again invaded Puniāl and attached the fort of Babar. The small dogra garrison there, with Raja Isā Bāgdur, held out and made sallies and held the enemy in check until *Bakshi* Rādhā Kishan arrived with some troops from Gilgit and relieved the place, forcing the Yāsinis to flee. This was the last conflict that occurred on the side of Yāsin and after this

35. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, p. 449.
36. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, p. 450.

the Yāsinis refrained from molesting territories of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in any way. The enmity of Hunzā ruler was no less than that of the Yāsini Raja. In 1869 the Hunzā people made a raid on the large village of Niomal. Similar things were endured from Hunzā, and some reprisals had been made by the Gilgit officers, but there had been no fighting on a large scale.

A decade of conflict ended in 1870 with agreements and treaties between the Rajas of Hunzā and Maharaja Ranbir Singh.[37] The persistence of the Dogra forces in quelling disturbance and implementing the policy of Jammu and Kashmir Government had persuaded the mountain chiefs to come to terms with the Maharaja. The Raja

37. "The State of Nagar and its neighbour Hunzā had accepted the suzdrainty of the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, but their inaccessibility and traditionally unorthodox policies precluded firm control by the Kashmir ruler. Although populated by the same clan, professing the same religion and speaking the same language, Hunzā and Nagar were persistant rivals and would unite only in the face of an alien threat. Isolated by vast mountain ranges which encircle the states, the people of Hunzā and Nagar maintained their independence with occasional submission to the ruler of Gilgit and later Kashmir—but with little alteration in their local customs. The two states, separated by a river which flows 600 feet wide between cliffs three hundred feet high, were ruled by princess of the same family. If the two, Hunzā was the more important state. Cultivation, severely limited by the scarcity of arrable land, was confined to the area just below Hunzā fort, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide. The area at an altitude of over 8000 feet, was well irrigated and studded with villages which enjoyed an agreeable climate. Northward lay scattered patches of cultivation decreasing in productivity with the rise in altitude; forests were also scarce on the steep mountain slopes.

Unable to rely over their own resources, the people of Hunzā had for centuries survived by plundering the many caravans crossing the passes between Central Asia and India. Hunzā controlled the vital passes leading to the Pāmirs and had developed a fearful reputation among the merchants who traversed the area. Slave trade was another lucrative business in Hunzā as the area to the north was unpopulated. The rules of Hunzā themselves organised their pillaging and kidnapping; and even directed the people in its execution. The state was reasonably prosperous and the inhabitants active, energetic, brave and aggressive.

By contrast, the adjacent state of Nagar was more docile. Cultivation was extensive and irrigation facilities wide spread. Forest and crop production was good and rich grazing land was available. Satisfied within their own borders, the people of Nagar were less aggressive than those of Hunzā, more sedate and less warlike. The only outlet of the state was the Gilgit river to the south and it was on this that Nagar depended for the transportation of such commodities as salt, sugar, and cotton cloth". Palit, Maj. Gen. D.K., *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, Dehra Dun, 1971, pp. 73-74.

of Nagar gave a guarantee of safety for trade and commerce between Gilgit and Nagar and left hostage at Gilgit as a guarantee of good conduct and the regular payment of tribute. As a feudatory of the State he received an annual subsidy. Raja Ghazan Khān of Ḥuznā gave a similar understanding and agree to pay an annual tribute of "21 Pulā of gold and two horses".[38] He was granted a subsidy of Rs. 2000 a year. Instead of transferring the fort of Chaprot to Maharaja Ranbir Singh, he agreed to send its revenue to the Jammu and Kashmir treasury annually. The Raja of Nagar also signed an agreement giving guarantee of safety of trade and commerce between Gilgit and Nagar and left hostages at Gilgit, as a guarantee of good conduct.[39] He was also granted annual subsidy by the Maharaja.

There were some obvious reasons for an orientation in the tribal politics favourable to the Maharaja's territorial ambition. One of these was the filial dispute in the ruling house of Yāsin. Gāur Rehmān's eldest son, Mulk Amān, had succeeded to power after his death. After events in Yāsin described above, Gāur Rehmān's another son, Mir Wali, fell out with his step-brother Mulk Amān, Mir Wali, getting aid from Imān-ul-Mulk of Chitrāl expelled Mulk Amān, and himself became ruler in Yāsin. Mulk Amān took refuge in Dārel first and then came to Maharaja Ranbir Singh who not only received him well but settled him in Gligit with a pension. Mir Wali, became a dependent tributary of the Raja of Chitrāl. Thus Yāsin and Chitrāl became bound up together, whereas Maharaja got into his hands a rival claimant to the Rajaship of Yāsin.

Another event which had a far-reaching effect on relations between the tribes of Chitrāl—Dardistān region and the Jammu and Kashmir Government, was the visit of a British explorer Lieutenant George H. Hayward. He was commissioned by the Royal Geographical Society of London to explore the Pāmirs. Unable to get permission from Yārkand and Kāshghar to approach the Pāmirs, he made plans to reach them through Yāsin in 1870. He sent some presents to the ruler of Yāsin from Gilgit which were willingly accepted and Hayward was hospitably received by Mir Wali of Yāsin in his country. He was taken about to some of the valleys for sport and was made much use of, in fact was won over by Mir Wali,[40] who convinced the British geographer that he was the rightful claimant of Gligit and desired him to arouse public opinion in his favour and also to

38. *File No. 294 of Samvat 1921*, Persin Records, SAR(J).
39. *File No. 294 of Samvat 1921*, (A.D. 1864), Persian Records, SAR(J).
40. Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-451.

represent his case personally to the Governor-General. Hayward prepared a case for the Mir of Yāsin and gave it to the press "having special reference to the aggression of the Maharaja of Kashmir in the Gilgit valley".[41]

He seems to have concocted a woeful tale of Dogrā atrocities in which from 1,200 to 1,400 of the Yāsin villagers were alleged to have been masacred by the Dogrās.[42] He therefore regretted that "this act of aggression did not call down from the British Government the

41. *Pioneer*, Allahabad, 9 May, 1870. Following are some extracts from Hayward's lengthy report, dated camp Yāsin, the 7th March, 1870:

"My present communication having special reference to the aggression of the Maharaja of Kashmir in Gilgit Valley... The countries of Chitrāl and Yāsin have been from times immemorial under the rule of the present chief, Raja Amān-i-Moolk, while the present Yasin Chief is descended from a branch of the same family. They claim descent from Alexander of Macedon, through the kings of Khorasan... The ablest and most energetic of these later Yasin Chiefs would appear to have been Raja Gauhar Rehman Khan who ruled over the territories of Yasin and Gilgit from about the year 1835 to 1858, a period over eventful in the India history. During the reign of this Chief, Gulab Singh, the Maharaja of Kashmir commenced active hostilities against Gilgit after having conquered Ladakh and Baltistan. While, however, Gauhar Rehman was alive, the Dogras could never obtain any footing in the country across the Indus. Dying in 1858, dissensions as to the succession arose amongst his sons; and the present Maharaja of Kashmir, who has succeeded Gulab Singh, was enabled to take advantage of the disturbed state of the country to intrigue with members of the same family. A large force of Dogras suddenly crossed the Indus at Bunju, and succeeded in establishing themselves in the fort of Gilgit, which position they have since maintained by force of arms. Either in ignorance of the events, or from a disinclination to interfere, this act of aggression did not call down from the British Government the severe remostrance which it justly merited... By crossing the Indus and annexing the territory to the westward of the specified boundary, the Maharaja has most signally infringed the treaty of 1846 with the British Government. Furthermore this treaty is being persistently infrigned by the continued attempts at aggression in the direction of Yarkand and Badakhan...It is imperative that a political Resident be stationed in Kashmir and the Maharaja's boundary fixed at the Indus necessitating their giving up Gilgit—It is, I believe, well known, that Russian agents have already met with favourable reception in Kashmir: at least, this fact is known to those who have had opportunities of ascertaining the truth and viewing the system of policy pursued by the court of Jammu. I may have even hint at agents of the Maharaja's who are now in Central Asia, of Agents in Tashkent and Bokhara, all sent secretly by this most loyal feudatory of the Viceroy of India."

42. *Hayward, George to T.H. Thornton, No. 10*, March 7, 1870: *For Secretary of State for India*, January, 1870, Nos. 191-200, NAI.

severe remonstrance which it justly merited", as the Dogrās had in his opinion, invaved Yāsin without having received the slightest provocation".[43]

Ignorant of the real implications of the Treaty of 1846, the explorer was chagrined to discover that "the Maharaja has most signally infringed the treaty of 1846 with the British Government". In an attempt to give his geographical sense a turn towards understanding of central Asian politics he pointed out towards some "ulterior motives" of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and asserted that the Maharaja was "intriguing with Russia", and hence he found it "imperative that a British Resident be stationed in Kashmir and the Maharaja's boundary fixed at the Indus, necessitating their giving up Gilgit".[44] The Government of India, however, were of the view that his statements on the subjects were exaggerated.[45] But the over zealous geographer brought the claim of Mir Wali personally to the notice of the Governor-General, as he had to come back to the plains because the passes had become covered by snow for the next three or four months. When Hayward made his appearance in Yāsin again in July Mir Wali found out that the British explorer had achieved nothing for him in return for all his hospitality, his tribal spirit got the upper hand, and he got Hayward and his five servants brutally murdered after sending them on way to Badakhshan. He also carried away all the baggage of the British explorers with all the naivity of a fascinated child.

This murder, however, precipitated a crisis in Yāsin affairs. It caused a rift between him and his chief adviser, *wazir* Rehmat, who had advised him against killing Hayward. *Wazir* Rehmat secretly sent his son to Pehlwān Bahādur, the ruler of Mastuj and also got the approval of the *Mehtar* of chitrāl to displace Mir Wali. Pehlwān made a sudden attack on Yāsin and Mir Wali fled to Badakhshān and therefrom to Chitrāl and threw himself upon the mercy of Amān-ul-Mulk, who, however, refused to give him protection but managed his escape. Pahalwān Bahādur assumed the rulership of Yāsin. The Government of India announced a reward of rupees one lakh for the arrest of Mir Wali.[46]

The murder remained unavenged. But it drew the attention of the British Government of India towards this tribal area. The inter-

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Pioneer*, Allahabad, 9 May, 1870.

45. *Govt. of India to Duke of Argyil*, No. 26, May 17, 1870; For Sec. July 1877, Nos. 34-60B, NAI.

46. *Letter of the Punjab Government to the Maharaja*, dated 7 June 1870, File No. 318, Persian Records, SAR (J).

ference of Chitrāl in Yāsin and other Dard principalities could not be relished either by the British or the Maharaja. There was every danger of balance of power being tilted against British interests and those of the Maharaja, particularly when events in the north-west frontier seem to invite intervention of Afghanistān in Chitrāl whom the former wanted to conquer.[47] As Afghanistān had leanings towards Russia, the British were anxious to isolate it from Chitrāl and other tribal republics. This object they wanted to gain through the Maharaja who was also anxious to make capital out of the Russian phobia of the British diplomats and extend his frontier as well as his influence.

Across the northern borders of the State were scattered a number of tribal principalities, the more important among them being Chitrāl, Yāsin Nagar, Hunzā, Dir, Chilās, Kuh-Ghizar and Ishkomān. These principalities stretched to the south of the strategic passes Baroghil and Ishkomān which led across the great mountain range running north. In case a hostile power came to control these passes, it would dominate the tribal principalities and threaten the British Indian position of Jalālābād, Peshawār and the Punjab,[48] and endanger the integrity of Jammu and Kashmir State as well. But they were not prepared to risk an involvement in the sensitive outposts so close to the restive Russian borders and were reluctant to undertake major military commitments on such a remote front. They therefore decided to help Maharaja Ranbir Singh materially in bringing the tribal principalities under their control.[49] The first confidential talk on the subject was had with the Maharaja by the Governor-General, Lord Northbrooke in January 1876 when the Maharaja was at Calcutta to attend the "Star of India Darbār". Apart from pointing out the necessity of keeping the tribals under check, the Governor-General impressed upon him the urgent need of collecting further information about the further areas and suggested the deputation of Capt. Biddulph for exploration of Yāsin, Hunzā and Gilgit areas. In fact, the British, in order to be well informed of the Russian moves found it necessary to establish a regular secret service agency at Gilgit.[50] Accordingly, Capt. Biddulph reached Jammu in 1876 and then going to Gilgit he continued his journey further.[51] He passed through Hunzā the same year. He was directed to "make all possible endeavours to

47. Hussain, F.M., *British Policy towards Kashmir*, p. 66.
48. *For Deptt. Progs. Secret*, July 1877, No. 34-B, NAI.
49. *For Deptt. Progs, Secret*, July 1877, No. 35, NAI.
50. *File No. 292-D of 1877, Persian Record*, SAR (J).
51. *Report Majmui, Jammu-o-Kashmir* (Urdu) *for the year S. 1932-34* (A.D. 1875-77).

collect and to enable the British Government to obtain early and authentic information on the course of events in the adjacent country—the frontier districts of Kashmir, and submit an account of the places, the capacity of the neighbouring localities, with connected particulars".[52] Biddulph collected invaluable information for his government. He held that roads from the passes of Baroghil and Ishkomān to the plains of India possessed no great natural obstacles, and once in possession of the Passes a powerful enemy could be able to take a strong initiative.[53]

With the coming of Lord Lytton as Governor General, there was a marked change in the policy towards Kashmir regarding the Maharaja's efforts at extension of his territories. "It was the general opinion that the main point to be aimed at was to secure control of the Ishkomān Pass, and that this could best be done by authorising the Maharaja of Kashmir to extend his boundary so as to include Yāsin within his territory either by force or by negotiations.[54] Lytton therefore took the earliest opportunity to meet Ranbir Singh and to communicate to him the fresh strategy, and he personally assured the Maharaja in a meeting at Madhopur on 17th and 18th November 1876 that "such states as Chitral and Yasin should come under the control of a friend and ally of the British Government like His Highness, rather than be absorbed in course of events by powers inimical to Cashmir",[55] and this, he emphasised, "became all the necessary from there being certain passes through the mountain range bounding the territory on the north, which passes, it is believed are more or less practicable or can be made practicable for the passage of troops". In Maharaja Ranbir Singh's opinion there were three ways for achieving these objects, viz., to take advantage of the internecine strife so frequent of occurrence among the tribes and to annex these states one by one as opportunity offered itself; to endeavour to carry negotiations to obtain political concessions; or to conquer the territories by force of arms. The Governor-General approved the peaceful course of negotiations, and expressed his readiness to aid such negotiations by all means at his command. At the same time he assured the Maharaja that in the event of the latter's action ever involving him in military operations, the British Government would give him countenance and material assistance.

52. *For Sec.*, August 1875. Nos. 68-81-NAI.
53. Kapur, Dr. M.L., *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, p. 76.
54. *For Deptt. Proc. Sec.*, July, 1877, No.38—NAI.
55. *Ibid.*

These proposals were, however, subject to the condition that a British Political Officer would be appointed in Gilgit to report directly to the Government of India, about the developments on the frontier. The Maharaja, apparently pleased on the prospect of extending his territories, accepted the proposals. . . . but with due caution, and in fact suggested a number of measures to effect the extention of his control over the tribal chieftainship.[56] Ranbir Singh being very sensitive to the propaganda against him in the Anglo-Indian Press regarding his frontier policy, particularly the more recent reports of Hayward, requested the Governor-General for a written authority for expanding his control over the tribal principalities and also sought clarification concerning the position of the Political officer at Gilgit. To this the Governor-General readily agreed and sent his consent in writing on 22 December 1876. In the same letter he assured the Maharaja that the appointment of a British officer at Gilgit had been proposed solely with a view to extend the influence and power of your Highness' Government.[57] He also assured the Maharaja that in the performance of the above duties, the officer would be instructed to communicate with him no less freely and confidentially than with the British Government and in case of his failure to observe strictly the conditions of his appointment, he would recalled. The Governor-General also agreed to take into account the Maharaja's advice in the selection of the officer for appointment at Gilgit. The Maharaja was further assured that the appointment of British officer at Gilgit had been proposed solely for strengthening the power of the government of the Maharaja, and in no wise to weaken the authority, or lower the dignity of his rule, which it was the wish as well as the interest of the British government to support and uphold. Nor was the plan intended to form a precedent for enlarging or altering the arrangments that existed then in respect of the position of the officer on special duty at Srinagar.[68] In short, after discussion of various means which could be

56. Gardu (ed)., *Kashmir Papers*, Introduction, p. xxi.

57. In this regard the letter reads:

"The appointment of a British officer at Gilgit has been proposed by us solely with a view to extend the influence and powers of 'Your Highness' Government on the frontier, and in no way to weaken the authority or lower the dignity of your rule, which it is the wish as well as the interest of the British Government to support and uphold, nor is the present measure intended to form a precedent for enlarging or altering the arrangements that now exist in respect of the position of the officer on special duty at Srinagar." Lord Lytton to Ranbir Singh, dated 22 December 1876: *For Deptt. Proc. Secret*, NAI.

58. *For Sec., July 1877, Nos. 34-60B*, NAI.

adopted for attaining the object, the Governor-General agreed that the course of peaceful negotiations should be adopted.

In consequence of this understanding Major John Biddulph was chosen by the Governor-General for appointment as Agent at Gilgit, and Maharaja's concurrence was also obtained in this affair. The title given to the Agent was "officer on special duty". He was ordered strictly to abide by the terms and conditions agreed to between the Maharaja and the Governor-General.[59] Primarily he was to endeavour, in consultation with the Kashmir officials, to cultivate friendly relations with the tribes beyond the border with the object of bringing them gradually under the control and influence of the Maharaja. In addition, he was to endeavour in the knowledge of the state officials and the Maharaja, to collect information regarding the topogaphy and resources of the localities in his vicinity. He was to furnish a weekly diary of intelligence and proceedings in a given form, through the officer on special duty in Kashmir. With such instructions Major John Biddulph became the first agent (political agent) in Gilgit[60] and thus the Gilgit Agency came into being in 1877.

Meanwhile, Ranbir Singh had already established his suzerainty over several principalities bordering on Gilgit, mostly by the show of force, and learnt the art of using one tribal chief against the other. As early as 1879, prince Zafar of Nagar came to the court of Ranbir and gave an undertaking for safe intercourse between Gilgit and Nagar. He further promised to work against the Raja of Hunzā, for which he was promised every support. The fort of Chalt and its villages lying between Hunzā and nagar between the two principalities were given to him. In 1877, the Nagar Chief with the assistance of the Maharaja's officials, succeeded in obtaining possessing of the disputed tract. The Maharaja had thus played his cards well in using one chief against the other. The Raja of Hunzā had also submitted, with the result that Ranbir Singh succeeded in expanding the territories in Dardistān. In this he had the full support of the Indian Government in pursuing this policy of extension. The British extended tacit sympathy to the Maharaja in his adventures. He was also encouraged to bring these tribal republics into some sort of mutual friendship. They also provided material aid to the Maharaja. In 1876 he was favoured with 5000

59. *Report Majmui, Jammu-o-Kashmir for S. 1832-34* (A.D. 1875-77).

60. Govt. of India to Capt. John Biddulph, No. 2248-P. September 22, 1877, *For & Pol. A, Feb. 1878, Nos. 117-137*, NAI.

Sridar and *Enfield* guns and one mountain artillery brigade,[61] for effecting necessary supervision in Gilgit territories.

Meanwhile the relations between Chitrāl and Afghanistān had become strained. Threatened by Afghān invasion the *Methar* of Chitrāl sought Ranbir Singh's protection in 1874. The Maharaja referred the matter to the Government of India, who looked so favourably on the idea that they granted a subsidy and a gift of rifles with the idea of strengthening Chitrāl against external designs.[62] Lord Lytton attached great importance to Chitrāl and Yāsin and his negotiations with Ranbir Singh concerning these "were prompted by the idea of widening the influence of the British power over the frontier tribes, and loosening that of the Amir of Afghanistān beyond the boundary of the little kingdoms.[63] He therefore encouraged negotiations between the *Mehtar* and the Maharaja. Thus came into existance the political relationship between the British and Chitrāl. Negotiations between the Maharaja and Amān-ul-Mulk, the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl resulted in a Treaty signed by the *Mehtar* in 1878 accepting the suzerainty of Ranbir Singh. Amān-ul-Mulk, however was a shrewd man, and he not only saw that it was desirable to be on good terms with so powerful a neighbour, but he managed also to extract a considerable amount of profit out of the connection.[64] So simultaneously he accepted the Amir of Afghanistān also as his suzerain and seemed to be trimming between Kābul and Kashmir.[65] Lord Lytton asked Ranbir Singh to inform the *Mehtar* that "having accepted the suzerainty of the Maharaja, he was not at liberty to change for the suzerainty of Kābul".[66]

The Maharaja therefore deputed his envoy with presents to Chitrāl. At the same time he sent some Afghān refugees as his spies to assess the actual position of happenings there. All the information thus gathered he passed on to the Indian Government. The Viceroy deputed Major Henderson "to be promptly and fully informed of the progress of events". He wanted to secure the allegiance of Chitrāl, Dir and Bajour, so as to isolate them from having any friendly rela-

61. *Report Majmui, Jammu-o-Kashmir, S. 1932-34* (A.D. 1875-77).

62. Elliot, Major-General J.G., *The Frontier*, p. 140.

63. Belfour, Lady Betty, *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 164.

64. *For Sec. July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B, Amanul Mulk to Maharaja; Bhai Ganga Singh to Maharaja*, NAI; Thomson, H.C., *The Chitrai Campaign*, p. 16.

65. *Govt. of India to Secretary of State for India*, No. 49, Feb. 28, 1879, *For Sec. March 1879, Nos. 35-37*, NAI.

66. *File No. 593 of* A.D. *1874, Lytton to Ranbir Singh*, 14 May 1874, Persian Records, SAR(J).

tions with Afghanistān".[67] The rulers of these chiefships changed sides at their convenience and as such it was considered advisable to bind them in some sort of agreement and understanding. The British government desired that such agreements should be as brief as possible, embodying:

> Firstly, an express recognition of suzerainty;
> secondly, an agreement for the exchange of representatives, and
> thirdly, grant of annual subsidy subject to allegiance.[68]

Accordingly, negotiations were started by the Maharaja with the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl, which resulted in the Chitrāl Agreement of 1873. Among other things the *Mehtar* engaged that "he will always sincerely endeavour to obey and execute the orders of the Maharaja". The Maharaja on his part agreed to annual *mawājib* of pay Rs. 12,000 to the *Mehtar*. The shrewd *Mehtar* thus "managed to extract a considerable amount of profit out of the connection, and was for many years in receipt of a subsidy both from the Government of India and from the Maharaja of Kashmir in return for his acknowledgement of suzerainty".[69] He was also to present 'three hourses five hawks, and five *Tāzi* dogs (hounds) to the Maharaja annually as a tribute in acknowledgement of his paramount power.[70]

Ranbir Singh's endeavours in direction of expansion of his territories and influence were signally successful. He extended his influence in various small republics of Shināki also, such as Dārel, Tangir, Khilli, Seo, Harban, Zasin and Jalkot and they paid him some form of tribute.[71] Ranbir Singh's hold on tribal principalities was complete and their rulers seemed obviously to have reconciled to their new status. But this state of affairs was short lived. Dogrā force at Gilgit was under the command of the brave and veteran General Hosiārā who was assisted by *Lālā* Rām Krishna as *wazir wazārat*. In 1880 the Gilgit force was ordered to be transferred to Jammu alongwith its General. The General, however, was retained at Gilgit on recommendation of Biddulph, and a new force was sent to Gilgit to be placed under General Hoshiārā. But the General fell ill and died.

67. *File No. 749-A and B of S. 1934* (A.D. 1877)—Persian Records, SAR (J).

68. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 176.

69. Thomson, H.C., *The Chitral Campaign*, p. 16.

70. *For Sec. Nov. 1877, Nos. 60-79-NAI.*

71. Aitchison, P.U. *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. XII.

The Maharaja appointed General Shankar Singh as the Army Commander. *Lālā* Rām Krishan was also recalled and *Bakshi* Mool Rāj was sent as *wazir wazārat* at Gilgit.

These transfers encouraged the tribals to raise disturbances. Having come to know of the transfer of the Gilgit force and also of the fact that its replacement had not arrived, Pahalwān Bahādur of Yāsin raised the standard of revolt. But before doing so he put the Gilgit authorities off the scent by sending his usual annual tribute. His agent was still at Gilgit when Rajas of Gākuj and Puniāl also arrived in Gilgit on Official business. Pahalwān Bahādur took advantage of this opportunity and with the help of his force took possession of Gākuj without any resistance. He then set siege to the Sher fort. Adjutant Bishnā who had garrisoned the fort with a small Dogrā force offered determined resistence. When the Maharaja received information to these developments he ordered the troops which were on their way to Gilgit to reach the scene of hostilities by forced marches. In the meantime the Dogrā contingents at Bunji and Skardū reached Gilgit at the same time when General Shankar Singh arrived there with his 2,000 men. Before the General could deploy his men to relieve the Sher fort, a message was received from Amān-ul-Mulk, the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl, that he had already sent a strong force to arrest Pahalwān Bahādur. The *Mehtar* also sent a special messenger via Peshāwar with a letter addressed to the Maharaja, assuring him of his loyalty, and hoping himself to be able to quell the rebellion. He particularly implored the Maharaja not to punish the people of Yāsin for the mad acts of one man and requested that the Dogrā force should not be moved into the Yāsin territory.

On the approach of the Chitrāl force, Pahalwān Bahādur fled away via Mastuj and reaching Chitrāl he sought protection of his father-in-law, the *Mehtar*. After deporting him from his territory, *Mehtar* Nizām-ul-Mulk sent a tribute of two horses and a hawk to Gilgit authorities with a letter that peace had been restored in Yāsin and that the people of Yāsin continued to remain loyal to the Maharaja. He also sought a personal interview. Accordingly a meeting was held at Gākuj Fort, which was attended by Major Biddulph, the British Agent, the officers of the Maharaja and the *Mehtar*. The *Mehtar* assured them of Pahalwān Bahādur's loyalty in future. Maharaja's appreciation of the loyal services rendered by him was conveyed to the *Mehtar* who was also given the novel presents. On the suggestion of the *Mehtar*, Ranbir Singh partitioned Yāsin. Yāsin proper was given to Mir Amān, brother of Gauhar Amān, who was an uncle of Pahalwān Bahādur. Māstuj was given to the *Mehtar*'s son,

Afzal-ul-Mulk; whereas Ghizar was allotted to Mohammad Wali, son of late Mir Wali. All the three Rajas acknowledged the suzerainty of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and undertook to send him annual tribute through the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl.

The services of the *Mehtar* were adequately appreciated and rewarded by the Maharaja who also increased the amount of annual subsidy payable to the *Mehtar* and also granted subsidies to his sons as under:

Mehtar Amān-ul-Mulk: addition of Rs. 10,000, raising the total subsidy to Rs. 25,000.

Sardār Nizām-ul-Mulk: Rs. 2,000

Shāh-Mulk, Afzal-ul-Mulk and Mirzā: Rs. 3,000.

The people of Dārel who had also joined Pahalwān Bahādur sought pardon through Raja Akbar Khān. According to the local tradition they sent one gun and four lambs to the Maharaja's *wazir* at Gilgit. Granting them pardon, the *wazir* accepted the lambs and returned the gun.[72]

In 1882, *Bakshi* Mool Rāj was appointed *wazir wazārat* of Gilgit in place of Maulvi Karim-ud-din. General Lābhā was sent to Gilgit to replace General Shankar Singh. A *Darbār* was held at Gilgit on behalf of the Maharaja where *Khilats* and awards were given to 31 persons including Raja Akbar Khān and Āfiat Khān for their loyal services in the Yāsin campaign.[73] Pahalwān Bahādur, however, was yet not out of picture. That year he again invaded Yāsin with the help of his brother Mulk Amān and the people of Dārel and Tangir. Mir Amān who was appointed Raja in 1880 also joined hands with Pahalwān Bahādur. They destroyed the Yāsin Fort and invaded Mastuj Fort. The *wazir*, *Bakshi* Mool Rāj, who was on tour in Astor rushed back to Gilgit and despatched a strong force under Colonel Chattar Singh and *Sardār* Ghulām Mohi-ud-Din. As the Dogrā force reached Yāsin, Pahalwān Bahādur again escaped to Tangir. After restoration of peace, the Maharaja installed Afzul-ul-Mulk, a son of the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl, as the Raja of Yāsin in place of Mir Amān.

But things were not to remain quite in this region of perpetual intrigue and political turmoil. Soon the *Mehtar* failing to carry out some of his engagements to the Maharaja was involved in a military conflict with the State forces as well as of some smaller principalities tributary to the Maharaja. The net result was that some of his

72. *Report Majmui, Jammu-o-Kashmir* (Urdu) for the S. 1937-38 (A.D. 1880-81).

73. *File No. 794 of S. 1939* (A.D. 1882) Persian Records, SAR(J).

territories were detached from his rule and handed over to more loyal chiefs. Koh, Ghizar and Ishoomān came directly under the Maharaja's rule after these principalities were severed from Chitrāl.[74]

3. Administration of Tribal Frontier and withdrawal of the Gilgit Agency

Within the first ten years of his rule Maharaja Ranbir Singh had conquered most of the tribal principalities and brought others in his sphere of influence. By 1877 he had established his suzerainty on the tribal territories lying to the north and west of Gilgit. The frontier tribes, however, gave him much trouble, and several expeditions had to be sent against them from time to time which resulted in complete subjugation of all these republics and Khanates and the establishment of closer ties with the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl.

Immediately on occupation of Gilgit Ranbir Singh appointed a military Governor there for administration of the territory and for further conquests of the adjoining territories. When Chilās was conquered the son of its former ruler was made its Governor. Later, in 1864 a general was made in charge of military affairs in Gilgit, residing mostly at Bunji. When more tribal republics were conquered, the Raja of the more important principalities like Yāsin, Hunzā, Nagar or Puniāl, was designated governor of those territories. Not long after the occupation of Gilgit, a civil administrator of the rank of *wazir-wazārat* was appointed and military command was separated under a general with his headquarters at Bunji. A considerable contingent of army was stationed at Gilgit at the disposal of civil authorities. By such measures Ranbir Singh desired to establish a direct control over all the territories and frontier tribes which were being reduced by his officers. The Maharaja did not, however, enjoy for long the liberty of policy and action in tribal affairs. In the wake of Russian advance in central Asia, the British interests in the politics of the Jammu and Kashmir State assumed new dimensions. Apprehensive of the impact the closer proximity of Russian frontiers would have on the Dogrās, who had been probing in for some time the small tribal principalities situated on the outskirts of the State borders, the British promptly conveyed their disapproval of Ranbir Singh's 'leap forward' policy, and asked him to "make no attempt to extend his authority beyond the limits which had been conferred on

74. Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir*.

his father".[75] The warning was a declaration of the strategic interests the British had in the Northern frontier of Kashmir and also a fresh enunciation of their claim to control the process of the Dogrā politics, whenever that was found necessary.[76] In reality, the British Government of India had never reconciled themselves to the wider orbit of autonomy the Dogrās had been allowed under the Treaty of Amritsar. They were also apprehensive of Ranbir Singh's interests in Central Asia. As a safeguard against future eventualities and as a measure to keep a watch on Ranbir Singh's intentions in Central Asia and Russian moves, the British Governor General had suggested the positing of a British officer in the frontier area, obviously to look after Anglo-Dogrā Mutual interests. The Maharaja had approved the proposal and Captain J. Biddulph, who had earlier reconnoitered the area twice, was appointed the first Political Agent at Gilgit. He continued in that office till 1880, when he handed over to Colonel Tanner. But after one year, in 1881, the political Agency was withdrawn by the British as it had failed to fulfil its objectives.[77] The British authorities, however, felt that "those objects, which are still regarded by the Government of India, as important will be, in no way, contravened by the removal at this time of the Agency".[81] The tribal republics had been brought under Ranbir Singh's suzerainty, though most of them proved defiant from time to time; Chitrāl had been yoked to the uneasy vassalage of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The British had consolidated their position in the North-Western Province, and Afghanistān had been completely won over. "They had gained much strength, both politicaly and militarily throughout this part of the world".[79] Above all, Ranbir Singh's plans in central Asia had been vindicated and the fear of his alignment with Russia against the British interests was adequately counter-balanced by the Maharaja's offer of all his resources and troops against Russia to the British Government. The Viceroy, vide his letter dated April 13, 1885, thanked him for his offer.[80] At the same time the Russophobia, which had obliged the British rulers, of India to establish their Agency at Gilgit had, by the middle of 1879, decreased to some extent. For, on 26 May 1879, was concluded the Treaty of Gendamak between Afghanistān and India, by which Afghanistān became friendly to

75. *For Sec. 1877*, No. 348, NAI (ND).
76. Teng, K.M., and Santosh Kaul, *Kashmir-Special Status*.
77. *For Dept., Sec. Proc.*, July 1881, Nos. 314-397, (NAI).
78. *File No. 904 of S. 1881*, Persian Records, SAR(J).
79. Hussnain, F.M., *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, Delhi, 1974, p. 78.
80. *File No. 966 of 1885*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

India and the control of her foreign relations passed into the hands of the British Government,[81] and the Russo-Afghān friendship, which had developed by 1877, and which was responsible for the outbreak of Anglo-Afghān War of 1878, had ended.[82] Under these changed circumstances it was "neither for the benefit of the Imperial Government, nor for the advantage of the Maharaja that the Agency should be maintained in such conditions".[83] In view of these circumstances the Governor-General, Lord Ripon summoned both Henvey and Biddulph to Simla to discuss this affair and there it was decided to withdraw the Gilgit Agency. Col. Tanner, the officiating Agent in Gilgit, left Gilgit for India on July 20, 1881,[84] and the Agency was closed down. It was only after two decades that the British Government had come to the conclusion that "Great Britain made herself accountable for adequate defence of what are the natural boundaries, not of a feudatory state, but of the Indian Empire itself, and assumed a task which has ever since been not with local, but with an imperial significance." But during Ranbir Singh's reign it was considered in the light of an expanionist move on the part of the Maharaja.

Hunzā and Nagar

Hunzā and Nagar were two small principalities bordering on Gilgit. Their inhabitants came from one stock and spoke the same language, Burushaski (a non-Aryan tongue); but some ill-feeling existed between the two communities probably because the people of Hunzā were *Maulāi* (followers of the Aghā Khān), while the people of Nagar were Shiās. The fort of Chalt and its connected villages, lying between Hunzā, Nagar and Gilgit, were long a socrcè of contention between the two states; but in 1877 the Nagar Chief, with the assistance of Ranbir Singh's officers, succeeded in obtaining possession of the disputed tract. From that date upto 1886 Chaprot and Chalt were in possession of the Nagar state, garrisoned by the Dogrā troops.

The State of Nagar is said to have paid a small tribute to the

81. *Govt. of India to Viscount Greenbook No. 160*, July 7, 1879, for Sec., July 1879, No. 185, NAI.

82. *Henvey to Lyall*, 18 May, 1881, For Sec. K, Aug. 1884, Nos. 4-19, No. 180, July 7, 1879. *For Sec. July 1879, No. 185*, NAI.

83. *Memo on the question of withdrawing the British Agency, For. Sec. K*, Aug. 1884, Nos. 4-19, NAI.

84. *Henvey of Lyall*, No. 359, 15 July 1881, for Sec. July 1882, Nos. 741-776c, NAI.

Maharaja since about 1867, receiving in return presents of larger value. In 1870 the Chief of Nagar, signed an undertaking to the following effect which continued to govern its relations with the State of Jammu and Kashmir:

"(i) We undertake to confer with Ghuzan Khān, the Raja of Hunzā that his son, as also the son of his *wazir* should remain in attendance on the Maharaja of Kashmir and in case he does not agree, we shall send our forces against him.

(ii) If any *Motabar* of Hunzā comes for secret work into our State, we shall kill him.

(iii) We shall ask Raja Ghazan Khān to hand over the forts of Chaprot and Nomal, if he agrees well and good, if not, we shall march against him and take their possession by fighting out.

(iv) Intercourse between the Gilgit and the Nagar subjects of the Maharaja and other will continue. If any loss occurs, we shall be held responsible.

(v) One real son of the Raja of Nagar and one son of the *wazir* will remain always in the services of the Maharaja.

(vi) Friends of the Maharaja will be considered friends and his enemies, taken as enemies.

(vii) In case, the Maharaja of Kashmir will demand any force, the same will be supplied without any hesitation, well equipped.

(viii) That in return for the *Khilat* granted to Raja Jaffar Khān, annually the following *Nazrānā* will be presented:

Horses = two; Gold = 21 *Tolās* Apricots = 5 loads."

Raja Jaffar Khān's son, Zafar Zahid, also repeated the oath of allegiance, saying :

"So long as there is breath in my body and head on my body, I shall not swerve from the sphere of your order. With your friends I shall cement friendship, your enemies I shall treat with vengenance and envy. In this work, I hold the Maharaja as my master and supporter and I believe he will think of my welfare, because I am always at his service and have just sent my tribute. The agreement which has been entered into and agreed by Mirzā, Shāh Murād and others is binding on us."

Maharaja Ranbir Singh received the expressions of allegiance

with satisfaction and fixed an allowance for Habbib Khān, a son of Jaffar Khān and appointed Abided Khan, another son of Jaffar Khān, as the ruler of Gilgit in 1870. Mutual relations seem to have continued cordial after these transactions.

The war-like Hunzites persisted for long in their hostilities towards the supremacy of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. They often made attacks on the Dogrā-occupied Gilgit in combination with Yāsin or some other principality. But the Maharaja time and again quelled their hostile outbursts and compelled them to come to terms. Finally, peace was established by an agreement signed by the Raja of Hunzā to the following effect :

"By the Holy *Quarān*.....

I am Raja Ghazan Khān son of Raja Ghazanfar Khān and grandson of late Raja Saleem Khān of Hunzā. Whereas my father late Ghazanfar Khān remained under the control of Kashmir from a long time, especially the deceased Raja was obedient to the Maharaja, I also agree to remain obedient and present the tribute in the same manner. Hence, on my own accord, without force or pressure, I deputed my *motabir, Wazir* Fazal Khān and accept the following terms :

1. The following *Nazarānā* will be paid by me to the Maharaja annually :
   (i) Gold = 12 *tolās*
   (ii) Horses = 2

   In return a *Khilat-Fakhira* and 2000 Srinagari coins will be granted to me and also a *Khilat* to my *Wazir*.
2. The revenue of Chaprot, that has been fixed from older times, will be paid annually at Gilgit.
3. One *Motabir* of mine will always remain present in Gilgit and he will be paid thirty rupees per month by the State and one *Motamid* will yearly present to the Maharaja the annual *Nazarānā*.
4. The friends of the Maharaja will be my friends and his enemies will be my enemies.
5. If a force be required in Gilgit, I shall place my troops at the disposal at the Maharaja for service and I shall not spare my effort in doing the service.

As this agreement has been written after swearing on the Holy *Quarān*, no change whatsoever will take place on my part.

Signed. Fazal Khān."[85]

85. Hussain, F.M., *Gilgit*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 39.

In return for the tender of allegiance and payment of a regular tribute as stipulated in the agreement, the Raja was given yearly *Khilat* and a subsidy, and Raja acknowledged by a letter of 1872 the receipt of a *khilat* of 12 *thāns* for himself, 4 *thāns* and one *chogā* for his son, 4 *thāns* and one *chogā* for his *wazir* and rupees 2000 in cash. The letter winds up with professions of loyalty from Fateh Ali Shāh and *Munshi* Yār Mohammad Khān, and bears assurance of their readiness, and that of Raja Ghazan Khān, to render their services in regard to Yārkand, which they had undertaken to perform. Maharaja Ranbir Singh prevailed upon the Hunzā rulers to keep peace with Fateh Ali Shāh of Wākhān and the latter intimated the Maharaja that "there is no difference between him and the Raja of Hunzā, that they both are united in rendering service." At the time he offered to undertake "that he would keep the Maharaja informed of affairs of all districts." The pacific approaches of Maharaja Ranbir Singh towards the frontier tribals were successful to a large extent. It seems that British interference in the affairs caused some of the problems in that region. The British took long to understand and appreciate Ranbir Singh's tribal policy, but their blind interests in Afghanistān and Central Asia led them to curb the Maharaja's independent activities in that direction.

The tribal frontier was finally divided into various political regions, each with a slightly different administrative set-up. The first was the Gilgit *Wazārāt*, which included the *tehsil* of Gilgit and Bunji and the *Nizāmat* of Astor. It was administered by the officials of Jammu and Kashmir State. The principalities of Hunzā and Nagar formed a separate unit. These enjoyed an internal autonomy which was complete, and the other areas enjoyed the one varying in degrees.[86] Puniāl, Yāsin, Kuh-Ghizar and Ishkomān were under governors appointed by the Maharaja from among the members of the dispossessed ruling familities of these principalities.

Finally, the Shināki republics of the Chilās districts in the Indus valley were held as tributaries to the Maharaja. This territory extended from Rāmghāt, where the Astor river joins the Indus, to Sheo on the right bank and Jalkot on the left bank of the Indus. Within this area the people were grouped in communities, each community comprising a republic in itself. These were—Gor, Kinergāh (Chilās proper), Hodar, Bundar, Thāk, Batogāh, Gichi, Thor, Dārel, Tangir, Khilli, Seo, Harban, Suzun and Jalkot. After the conquest of Chilās in 1861, the Maharaja imposed a tribute of

86. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. I.

gold dust upon the country and arranged for its administration as a part of the Gilgit district.[87] In 1889, when a British Agency was re-established in Gilgit, the group of States known as Chilās proper were included in the Agency except Thor; and it was stipulated, that the Kashmir Governor of Gilgit should take no important action in dealing with these feudatories except on the Agent's advice.[88]

All these Shināki or Chilāsi republics had been frightened into submission by Gulāb Singh in 1850-51. Although, we do not find substantial signs of submission until as late as 1869 they seemed to have been subdued and a treaty made with their chiefs, by which they agreed to send messengers or envoys to the Maharaja's court, with yearly tributes and hostages, of whom a certain number used to remain in Kashmir until after a year or so, when others would come in exchange.[89] In a letter of 1870, one of the *jagirdārs* or Chiefs of these republics assured the Maharaja on behalf of all of them that "till there is life in them they, as promised, would not swerve by a hair breadth from the agreement," and the *Nazarānā* and hostages sent by them to Srinagar through Lashkar Khān, via Shardū, consisted of :

(*a*) Hostages, their sons, five in number
  (i) From Chilās = 3
  (ii) From Thākā = 2
(*b*) Gold = Three *tolās*
(*c*) Goat = 90.

The letter further indicated that they had not for one or two years past, received any command bearing the Maharaja's seal, which does not therefore, satisfy them and even if they are poor people, they still expect the Maharaja's indulgence (benignity), and in the end, entrust themselves to his care.[90] Another letter of 1872 is also to the effect that the usual *Nazarānā* consisting of 3 *tolas* of gold, 91 goats and 3 hostages was sent to Srinagar and asks for certain concessions from the Maharaja and ends with the professions of loyalty.[91]

Gor, which was a sub-division of Chilās also was tributary to Maharaja Ranbir Singh, and used to pay their tribute along with Astor. But in a letter of Samad *Munshi* the representative of Gor, represented to request for permission to pay the tribute separately.

87. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. I.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. Hussain, F.M., *Gilgit the Northern Gate of India*, 1978, p. 42.
91. *Ibid.*

He also informed that 6 men would be detailed to remain in service of the state officer at Astor, turn by turn. The letter also makes mention of the *Nazrānā* paid by Bunar.[92]

Dārel

Dārel used to pay an annual tribute of gold dust to the state Government ever since 1866 when the Dogrā troops first raided the country. The tribute was paid through the Chief of Puniāl, a family which had influence in Dārel, owing to the relative geographical positions of Dārel and Puniāl and to the fact that all the Shināki tribals regarded them with much respect. For this reason, Tangir, though a republic like other Shināki communities, always respected the Khushwaqt rulers of Yāsin, who had established a right to interfere in Tangir due to their birth. The Governor of Yāsin was not allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the Tangiris but as the latter were permitted to graze flocks in Yāsin territory, he was allowed to exact a small yearly tribute.

There is a letter of 1869 from the informer of Puniāl to the effect that Dārelis had paid the usual *nazarānā* of 4 *tolās* of gold.[93]

The remaining communities had no direct political relations with either Kashmir or India except Jalkot. Thor is situated at the head of the Kaghan valley, and this had resulted in attacks on Thor and raids on travellers in the upper Kaghān, at various times, during the month of June to October, when the passes are open.

The communities in the Indus below the limits of the Shināki republics are known collectively as Kohistān. Their intercourse was confined to the Swāt Valley and to the Black mountain tribes.[94]

Yāsin, Kuh-Ghizar and Ishkomān

When the officer on special duty in Gilgit was appointed in 1877, all these districts were under the rule of *Mehtar* Pahalwān Bahādur of Yāsin, a member of the Khushwaqt family. Pahalwān Bahādur acknowledged the suzerainty of Ranbir Singh, from whom he received a subsidy; but he failed to act up to his engagements, and in 1880 he invaded Puniāl. Yāsin was occupied in his abence by Amān-

92. *File No. 904 of 1881*, Persian Record, SAR(J).
93. *Ibid.*
94. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. I.

ul-Mulk of Chitrāl. Pahalwān, having failed in his attack on Puniāl, fled from the country. Amān-ul-Mulk was permitted by the Maharaja to incorporate the whole tract in his own territory; and, with their consent, he gave Ghizar to Muhammad Wali, Yāsin proper to Mir Amān, and retained Mastuj to himself. After the fresh disturbances created by Pahalwān Bahādur in 1882 Amān-ul-Mulk, *Mehtar* of Chitrāl, turned Mir Amān out of Yāsin and put his son, Afzal-ul-Mulk, in his place. The Maharaja acquiesced to this fresh arrangement.[92]

Yāsin had established treaty relations with the Jummu and Kashmir State during the reign of Gulāb Singh. A representative of Yāsin used to go to Kashmir via Gilgit, with presents of hawks and dogs for the Maharaja and the elder *Diwān*. Such a procedure continued upto 1879 and there are orders of the Maharaja which speak of either a grant or a reward to the nobles of Yāsin. A letter addressed to Rām Kishan, *Wazir-i-Wazārat* of Gilgit, indicates that the grant of annual *Mukarrari* of Rs. 2,700 in favour of Pahalwān Bahādur of Yāsin, was paid to him for the year 1878.[96] Another letter of the same date is to the effect that Rs. 1000 were granted in recognition of the services rendered by him to Biddulph during his visit to the frontier.[97]

Punial

Punial is the name given collectively to the six fort villages and their connected hamlets, situated in the valley of the Gilgit river, between Gilgit on the one side and the Khushwaqt districts of Kuh and Ishkoman on the other. The region was long a bone of contension between the Maharaja and the Katur and Khushwaqt rulers of Chitral, Mastuj and Yāsin; but finally, about the year 1860, it came into the possession of the Maharaja who, in return for services rendered in the wars which finally established the Dogra rule on the right bank of the Indus, conferred the region as jagir on Raja Isa Bahadur a member of the Burshe section of the Chitral family. The majority of the inhabitanty were the Shins and the Yashkuns, of whom one-fourths were the Molais and the rest are Sunni Muslims.

On Isa Bahadur's death, his son, Mohammad Akbar Khan,

95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *File No. 902..... Irshad dated 25th Baisakh, Samvat 1936* (April 1880) Persian records, SAR(J).

succeeded to the Chiefship, which was brought under the Gilgit Agency on its re-establishment in 1889.[98]

Dārel has paid an annual tribute of gold dust to the Jammu and Kashmir *Darbār* ever since 1866, when Maharaja Ranbir Singh's troops raided the country. This Tribute was paid through the Political Agency, Gilgit, after his appointment in 1877, and through the Governor of Puniāl, a Burishe Raja, a family which had influence in Dārel owing to the relative geographical positions. The Governor was allowed to receive a customary present of 12 seers of salt from the Dareli motabars, and was also permitted to recover a grazing tax from the Darelis, who brought their flocks and herds into the Punial nullahs during the summer months.

Dir, had also become tributary to the Jammu and Kashmir State in the fifties of the nineteenth century. According to the *Administrative Report* of the Government for the year 1882-83, communications with the *Khān* of Dir had been held in abeyance for some time. In 1883 a *motamid* come to enquire after His Highness' health, who was dismissed with a *Khilat* after some time.[99] A tribute, which consisted in about 1885 of 3 horses, 4 hawks, 4 hounds and 2 guns, used to be sent by the hand of the *Motabir* for presentation to the Maharaja.[100] The principality had remained constantly loyal to the Maharaja during all this time, is revealed by a letter from Raja Mohammad Sharif Khān of Dir dated 21 Jamed-Ul-Awal 1303 A.H. which states that "it was hereditary in his house to be loyal and friendly with the state officials and such relations established of long, would remain permanent; that nearly all officers of India and Kābul were anxious to make friends with his house but, that he, who was firm in fidelity and obedience to the Maharaja did not establish friendly relations with any of them. In the previous year, the officers of the British Government had tried to personally see him promising him much money and arms but being a servant of the Maharaja, he did not care to see them without permission".[101] The strain of the letter, however, reveals a disposition of the Chief to get enhancement of his subsidy and cash rewards so greedily sought after by the poor tribal chiefs of the frontier region. It was necessary to placate them to keep them at peace and to dissuade them from plundering neighbouring territories and Central Asian merchants. As a result of these measures peace

98. Aitchison, C.U., *op. cit.* Vol. I.

99. *Report Mujumi of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir* (Urdu), for S. 1939-40. p. 51.

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*

prevailed in Dārel and Goru, Barmas, Thoru and Barban and the usual *Nazarānās* or tributes as a token of submission were received regularly.[102]

Chitrāl

The earliest records[103] available show that since the year 1864, the *Mehtar* of Chitrāl, Amān-ul-Mulak, used to send his *Nazarānā* through his representatives, sometimes his brother, Makhmul Shāh, to the Maharaja of Kashmir. In 1876, the *Mehtar* appears to have approached the Maharaja with a view of seeking his protection against the threatening attitude of the *Amir* of Afghanistān. As a result an agreement was made which may loosely be translated as follows:

"This agreement made on behalf of myself and my children (*a*) I hereby agree that I shall ever endeavour to obey and comply with orders of the Maharaja and consider his well-wishers as my friends and his enemies as my enemies, and in recognition of sovereignty, pay the following *Nazarānā*:

(*i*) Horses=3, (*ii*) Hawks=5, (*iii*) Hounds=5.

(*b*) One *Motabar* of the Maharaja will aways remain at Kashgar and one in Yāsin, and they will be duly honoured and respected. Similarly, one *Motabar* of mine will remain in the *Darbār* of the Maharaja and another on behalf of the *Hākim* of Yāsin in Gilgit for execution of orders.

(*c*) I shall receive a yearly subsidy of rupees 12,000 from the Maharaja in observance of the above conditions and if instead of the *Motabar*, any of my sons takes up the place, he will receive a separate allowance from the Maharaja".[104]

In 1885, Nizām-ul-Mulk, the eldest son of *Mehtar* Amān-ul-Mulk, visited Jammu. He was treated as the State guest throughout till he went to Calcutta to wait on the Viceroy; on his return he contrnued to be the State guest and at the time of his departure was granted *Rukhstānā* of rupees 3,125 for himself, in addition to the *Khilats* granted to him and his family and dependants.[105]

102. *Report Mujumi* (Urdu). *op. cit.*, S. 1939-40, p. 51.
103. *Ibid.*
104. Hussain, F.M. *Gilgit, op. cit.*, p. 44.
105. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER

7

'Leap Forward' Policy in Central Asia

The Dogrā interests in Central Asian affairs arose during the middle of the thirties of the nineteenth century when Gulāb Singh, as an ambitious vassal of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore first subjugated Ladākh and Baltistān between 1834 and 1840 and then felt his way towards Yārkand and Kāshghar. He ultimately invaded Western Tibet and penetrated the Lhāsā territory as for as the Mayūm Pass to the north of the Western Nepāl. From the very beginning the Dogrā rulers followed a 'forward policy' in Central Asia for which they had been compelled by two considerations. Firstly, the Northern and North-eastern boundary of their Kingdom till them quite vague and undefined, was strewn with tribal states usually beset by internal upheavals causing disturbances on frontiers now and then. For the safety and security of their borders, the Dogrā rules had always desired to push their northern frontiers still northwards. Such a policy might have been further strengthened by the economic factor, the Central Asian trade, particularly the lucrative shawl wool from Yārkand and U-Tsāng which fed all the shawl and carpet industries in Kashmir.

Secondly, the clash of interests of their over-lords with their own had always driven the Dogrā chiefs to took for allies in Central Asian countries. The anti-Dogrā attitude of Ranjit Singh's successors compelled Gulāb Singh to probe for friends in Yārkand and Nepāl

and they might have cherished some distant hope of forming an anti-Lahore and anti-British alliance with some Central Asian powers Maharajas Kharak Singh and Sher Singh had openly adopted anti-Dogrā policies and most of their courtiers were in league with the British deplomats in an effort to dislodge Dogrās from their power and position, a policy in which they partially succeeded by assassinating Raja Dhiān Singh and afterwards Raja Hirā Singh. Their endeavours, however, failed against the Kautilyan Jammu Chief. It was in anticipation of such circumstances that Gulāb Singh frantically tried to probe his way towards Yārkand and Khotan, and conquered Tibetan territories upto western borders of Nepāl in 1841.

With the defeat of Sikhs in 1846 and the founding of Jammu and Kashmir, the Dogrā Chief. Maharaja Gulāb Singh, found new but more powerful overlords in place of the kings of Lahore. The officers of the East India Company resented the transfer of Kashmir to him as well as at the measure of autonomy exercised by him. They sought to curb his power but Gulāb Singh successfully resisted all their attempts. He asserted independence of action by conquering Gilgit and Astor and by invading other Dard republics. He was, however, restrained from more ambitious designs on account of his failing health, though Yārkand, Kāshghar and Tribetan lands had always been within the boundaries of his contemplated empire.

The situation, however, underwent a great transformation with the accession of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in August 1857. Soon after, the government of India was taken over by the British Crown in 1858, and a new chapter was opened on relations between the Indian States and the British paramount power. But in this chapter the same policy towards the Dogrā State was enunciated which was formulated by the officials of the East India Company. Rather the bureaucrat and imperialist officers of the Crown were more vocal in denouncing the Company's action of transfering Kashmir to the Dogrās, and a fresh tarnedo of hatred against the rules of Jammu and Kashmir engulfed the Anglo-Indian Press. They even questioned Dogrā ruler's exercise of autonomy in internal affairs and his desire to conduct external relations without reference to Calcutta Unnecessary and derogatory criticism of the administration of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who was probably more liberal in reforms and outlook than his British contemporaries, frequently appeared in newspapers owned by Englishmen and their bootlicker 'Black *Sāhibs*.' The main object of this anti-Dogrā propaganda was to demolish the treaty of Amritsar of 1846 and to usurp Kashmir for British colonisation.

In one of his open notification to the newspapers and to the British rulers of India, Maharaja Ranbir Singh charged the Anglo-Indian Newspaper, *Friend of India*, of its frequent vituperous writings directed against the Maharaja's trade policy, concocting anecdotes of the British Government's alleged displeasure. With a view to vindicate the baselessness of these allegations the Maharaja boldly dilates upon the breach of faith on the part of the British Government and the uncalled for interference by the British Officer on Special duty, Doctor Keley. He supports his statement with reproduction of copies of trade treaty with the British Government and orders issued by Dr. Keley in clear transgression of the treaties.[1] The sort of interference the British Government sought to impose in internal administration of the state was so outrageous that the Maharaja was not only compelled to conclude that the British officer on special duty was dealing in matters of trade as if Kashmir was a part of British territory,[2] but the Dogrā ruler was also driven helplessly to seek political alliances with Central Asia and Russia under the scare that the Governor General and his colleagues were planning on some pretext to subvert his state and his authority.

Under these circumstances Ranbir Singh could not remain a silent spectator of these political moves and activities which were taking place on the northern as well as southern frontiers of his territories. He sent his trusted agents to explore the vast regions of central Asia and Persia to know the events taking place there with reference to the influence these might have on his State, as well as to ascertain the nature and possibility of relations which could be established with these countries. The geographical location of Jammu & Kashmir required such a vigilent policy, as the State "is in contact with Tibet on the East, Eastern Turkestan on the North, Hunjā and Nagar on the North west. It has thus happened that the Maharaja of Kashmir has been concerned at various time with China, with the politics of Central Asia, and with the group of independent Chiefships which separate the western borders of his state from the eastern limits of Afghānistān."[3]

The Dogrā interest and the resultant influence in Central Asia arose from the fact that under the treaty of September 1842, which ended the expedition led by Gulāb Singh's general Zorāwar Singh, against Ladākh and Tibet, the District of Mān Sir or Misor was

1. *Persian Records*, File No. 215/8, of S. 1926, SAR(J).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1890, p. 120.

made over by the Tibetan authorities to Gulāb Singh and his heirs as jagir.[4] Some political significance naturally attached to the Jagir at such a distant region in the Chinese territory, and there was "reason to doubt whether the Maharaja does not pay tribute on account of it to the Chinese."[5]

In addition, according to a long established tradition, commercial mission and presents along with *Kafilās* of trade goods were regularly exchanged between Ladākh and Lhāsa as a religious routine every third year. All the wool of Chang Tang (North-Western Tibet) was supplied to Ladākh only. Ladākh and Tibet had mutually agreed to exchange some trade mission on the basis of raciprocity which were both commercial and religious in nature. The Dalāi Lāmā used to send a merchant to Leh every year with a few hundred bales of brick tea. This was known as the *Chabha* or *Chabbā* (tea merchant's) mission. The Ladakhi kings used to send some presents to His Holiness Dalai Lama. This was known as *Lap Chak* or *Lab Chok*. meaning "yearly salaam". The real purpose behind these missions was commercial. Thus the Tibetans under the garb of *Chabā* took a few hundred horse loads of the tea to Ladakh and returned with dry apricots, saffron and sugar etc., and so were the Ladākhi caravans allowed to carry larger quantities of other commodities for trading purpose. These missions contiuned during Ranbir Singh's reign also when the transaction became a government affair and *Lap Chak* came to be referred to as "Agent of the Government," and used to be nominated by the *wazir wazarat* at Leh. It used to carry with him a *kāfilā* of 270 horses of Yak-loads of goods.[6]

In the garb of *Chhabā* and *Lab Chak* Ranbir Singh had established commercial and political relations with at least fifteen religio-political centres in Tibet and their heads, the most important among them being the Chinese Resident at Lhāsā, the Guru Lāmā Lhāsāwālā, Lāmā of Lhi-ran-Pocche and Lāmā Gonpās of Rudok. Tashigonpā,

4. "Min Sar or Misar Parjum, is a tract of grazing ground lying about two marches north west of the Mansarowar lake on the road to Gartok, and about seventeen marches distant from Leh. Its pecuniary value is insignificant. The small revenue is collected annually by a Kashmir Official deputed by the Maharaja's Wazir at Leh. Mr. Ellias states that Mr. Johnson, when Wazir, tried to visit the Jagir, but was prevented by the Chinese Officials in Gartok"—*Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh* 1890, p. 121.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Charak S.D.S., *Editorial Notes in 'Gulab Bhawan Research Series'* 1979, Vol. No. 1.

Gonār and Darumag, the last name monestry being some seventeen marches from Ladākh.[7]

The religio-political intercourse between the Dogrā rulers and the leaders of the Tibeto-Chinese centres in Tibet over three decades had established deep-seated Dogrā influence in Central Asia, and the Dogrās seem to develop certain political amity with the Chinese power, which keen political observers did not fail to notice. In 1880 Mr. Henvey, Officer on Special Duty in Ladākh wrote: "The Maharaja always speaks of China with much reverence as a power on par with us (the British) in civilisation."[8] It was particularly reported "that the Maharaja does not disregard his intercourse with China."[9]

In view of these permanent interests in Tibet and other central Asian *Khanates* Ranbir Singh secretly despatched his agents on missions to these lands in order to keep himself fully informed of latest developments to his north and east. Mehtā Sher Singh, an officer of great dash and pluck, was sent on special survey mission to central Asian countries, who left Srinagar on 28th July 1866 and journeyed through Hazārā, Peshāwar, Kābul, Balkh, Bukhārā, Samarkand, Tāshkand, Khukand, Kāshgar and Yārkand and came back via Leh in October, 1867. He visited 175 places and submitted to the Maharaja a comprehensive and interesting account of geographical and economic conditions and political transaction of these regions.[10]

The same year another state officer named Mohamad Khān Kishtwāri, also journeyed through these regions and submitted a spirited account of his observations concering these lands. Some years earlier in 1864 Kādir Joo and *Miān* Salab Singh had gone to Yārkand on a political mission on behalf of the Maharaja who also despatched a Military officer. Sobā Khān Bandooki, to study the military disposition of the Chinese in Central Asia. The Bandooki submitted a comprehensive report of his findings to the Maharaja's Government. After a careful study and analysis of all these reports of his spies and missions to Central Asia. Ranbir Singh was encouraged to move his forces, towards Yārkand which had been the cherished

7. Persian Records, File No. 980 of S. 1942 (A.D. 1885), letter of Radha Kishan Kaul, Wazir-i-Wazarat, dated 16 Maghar, 1943, containing account of Lab Chak for Lhasa, SAR(J).

8. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p., 121.

9. *Ibid.*

10. See MS of *Safarnama Mehta Sher Singh* (in Urdu), Persian Records File No. 1218 of S. 1941, SAR(J).

object to the "forward policy" of the Dogrās since Gulāb Singh's days. Taking advantage of the disturbed state of political affairs there he asked permission of the British Government to despatch a military expedition to Yārkand and Kāshgar and attempt to incorporate these two famous cities of central Asia and their adjuncts into his own dominions.[11] The British Government had not liked Dorgā expansion towards central Asia and they had earlier in 1841 thwarted Gulāb Singh's attempt in that direction, and they could not be expected now to permit the Dogrā ruler when they had their own ambitious designs in that region and in China. Jammu Government, however, despatched a small body of troops across the Korākoram in 1865, with orders to occupy the country as far Shāhdulā or Shāddulā,[12] where a fort was originally built about the year. 1863 "by some soldiers sent by Basti Ram, *wazir* of Leh."[13] A *sarai* is reported to have been built there as early as the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh, a fact which proves the occupation of that territory at some earlier date. The place was about three marches across the Korākoram Pass. They built a fort there during the summers of 1865 and 1866. The fort was supplied and manned by the Dogrā soldiers. They withdrew in winter because of the severity of the climate. But the British who had already begun to cast doubts on the loyalty of Ranbir Singh, did not countenance his military occupation of that central Asian post and sent him a strong note of disapproval. They had formulated their own plans for a long-term policy of commercial penetration to, and subsequent political domination of Central Asia.[14]

The political situation in Central Asia was very much disturbed and hence quite favourable for interference by Ranbir Singh. His occupation of Sa'adulla had given him a strong foothold in a fringe of Central Asian region from where he could successfully follow his "leap forward" policy in Central Asian countries of Kāshgaria and Yārkand which were rent by political revolts. Ranbir Singh could easily occupy these regions but the unwise and suspicious British politicians intervened at the wrong moment. The result was that these important territories which could have become a part of Indian Continent, soon after fell prey to Russian aggression in spite of British intrigues. In

11. *Persian Record*, File No. 651 of S. 1931, SAR(J).

12. Mehta Sher Singh's travel diary tells that at Sa'adulla a *Sarai* had been built in the times of "*Sh. Maharaja Sahib Kalam Bahadur*" i.e. Maharaja Gulab Singh, cf. *Safarnamu Mehta Sher Singh*, *op. cit.*, folio 19 a.

13. Hussnain, F.M., *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

14. Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir*, p. 627.

fact the British were very much jealous as well as suspicious of Ranbir Singh's influence in Central Asia. "So high was the political stock of the Kashmir Government in Central Asia during this period that most of the communications addressed to the British Government passed through the Kashmir *Darbār* and it was to the Maharaja's Court that the first envoy of Yāqūb Beg came in 1872 with presents from his master."[15]

To cut at the roots of Ranbir Singh's influence in Central Asia and to isolate him from northern powers, the British devised to draw a wedge between him and Russia and China in the shape of sharpedged commercial policy, cunningly inviegling even unsuspecting Ranbir Singh in their game. As soon as the Maharaja directed the Yārkandi envoy to see the Viceroy, which he did, the British Government used it to blame him of clandistine relations with foreign powers and to send the famous mission of Douglas Forsythe to Central Asia which paved the way for replacing the Dogrā influence in those territories by that of the British.

They gave the Maharaja to understand that it was the joint mission of the British and the Dogrā authorities that they envisaged to send to the court of Yāqūb Beg, the Khān of the Kāshgar. Thus Jammu and Kashmir Government was induced to render all required assistant in the shape of supplying provisions, carriage and active cooperation to the Forsythe mission. There were "altogather 1621 horses and yaks employed and 6476 coolies of whom 1256 were *dooly* bearers. These men and cattle were distributed over the differents stages and kept for about two months on this duty until the arrival and passage from Murree of *Hāji* Torā and his suite."

On the successful termination of the Mission the Maharaja was further pressed to conclude with the British Government a "commercial" treaty in 1873, according to which a British Joint Commissioner was appointed at Leh to look after the upkeep of the road, road which was made a responsibility of the Jammu and Kashmir Government and ensure the safety of travellers to Central Asia. Under the treaty the Maharaja could not levy any toll or duty on goods sent from British India or aborad to Central Asia and vice versa. The Maharaja had to pay Rs. 5,000 in the first instance as his share in carrying out repairs of the carvan road, and thereafter to make annual contributions for the maintenance of the road and the various *Sarais* or rest-houses for travellers. British India or Central Asia nationals could start provisions and carriage supplying business at any stage on the

15. Bamzai, P.N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 674.

road without let or hinderance on the part of the State Government. Elaborate rules were framed for the maintenance of law and order and dispensing of justice in those areas. The most vital of this "commercial" arrangement was that the British were empowered to carry out survey operations and the Maharaja was entitled to despatch his officials to work with the British parties. "In short, the whole conduct of relations both political and commercial with the Central Asian, Tibetan and the Chinese Governments was taken over by the British. And although the Kashmir envoy made his usual triennial trips to Lhāsā till as late as 1882, the Maharaja's influence and prestige in these regions were completely destroyed."[16] and every effort was made to lower the Maharaja's position in the eyes of the Yārkandis.[17]

The British diplomacy of commercial missions and trade treaties with Central Asian countries and with the reluctant Dogrā ruler, was more actuated by political motives than by actual business intersts. As in the case of Ranjit Singh's policy of expansion towards Sind, the British success in concluding commercial treaties with the Amirs of Sind, came out to be a political step to forestall the Sikh ruler in that direction, so in the case of the Dogrā ruler Forsyth Mission and the resultant 'commercial' treaties made Ranbir Singh realise that his neighbours in Kāshgar. Yārkand and Khotan had gone into the sphere of British influence and had become for him a forbidden land forever. The British Viceroy of India had as early as August 1886, warned Ranbir Singh's representative against his advance towards Central Asia. Talking to the Maharaja's *mu'atmid*, Bahār Mal, the Viceroy pointed out that to his information the Maharaja intended to send his arms towards Yārkand and Khotan and pointed out that "invasion of Yārkand and Khotan will not be an advantageous endeavour".[18] It is evident from the Viceroy's remark that the British imperialists were not pleased with the Dogrā forward policy and their growing influence in the Central Asia. Ranbir Singh would have preferred to deploy his forces towards Yārkand and Khotan and if possible towards the west of Ladākh into Tibet upto at least the Mayūm Pass conquered by General Zorāwar Singh, than to hazard military expeditions towards the hostile and rugged tribal areas beyond Gilgit which he had later to do under compulsion. The Central Asian regions were not only rich in economic and commer-

16. Bamzai, P.N.K, *op. cit.*, p. 678.

17. *Foreign Deptt. Secret, F. No. 86 Proceedings*, March, 1883.

18. *Perisan Records*, File No. 347 of S. 1923. *Kharita* from Bahar Mal *Mu'atmid*, Simla, dated 12 Bhadron 1923 (23-8-1866), SAR(J).

cial resources, but were of much political importance as well, being at that time verged on China on the one hand and Russia on the other. The sort of treatment the Dogrā ruler was receiving at the hands of the over-bearing British bureaucrats and the vicious adverse propaganda being carried on against him in the British press made Ranbir Singh suspicious of British Government's intentions towards him, and it was natural for him to conclude under the circumstances that the Viceroy and his Government were intriguing to annex Jammu and Kashmir State to their possessions. As a defencive measure against such an eventually, Maharaja Ranbir Singh seemed keen to take up arms in despair with the help of some foreign powers with whom he sought to cement his relations, as Central Asian powers, including China and Russia, were equally hostile to the British.

Apprehensive of Ranbir Singh's surreptitious moves of this nature the British Viceroy of India thought it proper to dissociate Ranbir Singh from Central Asian powers without provoking or frightening him into the dreaded hostility, and nothing else than commercial interests could achieve this end, particularly when they posed it to be a joint venture for common economic benefits. They were remarkably successful not only in allaying the Dogrā fears but also in getting their cooperation however reluctant, in the name of mutual trade benefits.

Forsythe led two missions, and the British Government used both these occasions to explore Central Asian lands and to gether all possible political information. A number of native explorers were attached to Forsythe's first mission. One of the 'most intelligent' of them. Faiz Bakash ('F.B.') travelled to Yārkand via Kābul, Wakhān and Sārikol and collected all type of geographical and political information.[19] The second mission to Kāshgar was very much different. He was ordered by Northbrook to pay special attention to the land west and south-west of Kāshgar, and he was given every facility to do so.[20] Thus Mayo and North-brook took the opportunity of Forsythe's missions of Kāshgar to organise a combined assault by native explorers on the unknown lands, and by an exhibition of their imperial grandeur in the land of savage *Khāns*, they implanted their influence and awe at the exclusion of the Dogrā influence and prestige. Ranbir Singh was completely isolated from countries to his north and east. His applecart of Central Asian diplomacy was upset at one

19. Secretary of State of India, 30 Dec. 1881, PFI/7, p. 473.
20. Aldar, G.L., *British India's Northern Frontiers*, 1865-95, p. 193.

stroke. In 1868 the Lieutenent-Governor of the Punjab had even urged that India should assume direct control of Kashmir's external diplomacy because of events in Eastern Turkistan and though Lawrence opposed the proposal,[21] yet the whole affair reveals the working of British mind regarding the Dogrā State.

It was curious enough on the part of the British to press Ranbir Singh to grant a jagir in Kashmir to *Hāji* Yāqūb Torā, the envoy of Yāqūb Beg, and to this effect a '*sanad*' dated 25 Magh, S. 1931, corresponding to 7 February, 1975 was granted to Yāqūb Beg by the Maharaja.

With the appointment of the British Joint Commissioner in Ladākh and a political officer in Gilgit was ushered in a period of total British domination of all the foreign relations of Kashmir, with the Governments in Central Asia and Tibet. A British trade officer was appointed in Kāshgar who curiously enough was designated as 'Special Assistant to Kashmir Resident for Chinese Affairs.'[22]

The British view of the whole diplomacy was fairly expressed in a letter of the Lt. Governor of the Punjab written to Ranbir Singh under instructions from the Supereme Government, in September 1873, which reads:

> "...in view of the important position of Your Highness' territories on the north-western frontier of India, the increasing importance attached to political affairs in Central Asia, the necessity of obtaining early and reliable information of all that takes place beyond the Himalayan passes, the mischief caused by the circulation of false and exaggerated rumours from those quarters, and the close relations which will, His Excellency in Council trusts, be established with Yarkand, it appears to His Excellency in Council to be advisible that a British Resident should remain permanently at the Court of Your Highness."[23]

Ranbir Singh, however, was conscious of the growing high handedness of the British authorities towards his State much before they formulated such a clear-cut policy of complete political control of Jammu and Kashmir. He therefore, seems to have made some efforts to provide safety for himself in the event of any crisis. It was reported

21. To Salisbury, 15 July 1876, Ly P/518/I. p. 283.
22. Bamzai, P.N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 679.
23. *Forgn. Sec. Nos. 19-29*, March 1875, Lt. Governor of the Punjab of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, 26 Sept. 1873.

that the Maharaja proposed to the *Amir* of Kābul that since the territories around Gilgit were never under the complete control of Kābul, it would be better if he took a few lakhs of rupees and transferred Badakshān to Kashmir, but being involved in a family dispute the *Amir* could not entertain the project.[24] The proposed transaction was believed to have been actuated by the Dogrā ruler "to secure a place of safety for his treasure, family and troops as a distance from the English territory and where he could resort to in the event of trouble.[25] His efforts to occupy Yārkand, Kāshgar and Khotan may have been apiece with his endeavours to achieve that object.

In dealing with Central Asian powers, Ranbir Singh's arms reached as far as Russia with whom he started toying in early sixties of the nineteenth century. He even established a school for teaching Russian language to his men to equip them properly to serve as envoys in Russia and the adjacent areas. He once wrote to his Prime Minister to provide him "one Muslim, conversant with Russian language, who is willing to undertake a long journey."[26] And such a person could be required only to perform an important assignment in Russian Empire. It was not uncommon in those days among Indian chiefs to try to send secret envoys to that land. Documents found in the Soviet and Indian archives show that beginning with the second half of the 19th century serious circles in India had made persistent efforts to establish contacts with Russia. "The hopes of Indian patriots for external support began to grow especially in the sixties of the nineteenth century.[27] Maharaja Ranbir Singh was one of those Indians who tried to tap all possible sources of external support for his cause of upholding his diplomatic freedom internal and autonomy. In this connection Russian indologist, Doctor N.A. Khalfin, brings to light some important facts. He writes.[28]

"A mission of Ranbir Singh, the then Maharaja of Kashmir arrived in Tashkent in November, 1865. It covered a long and difficult road. Members of the mission were attacked while passing through the territory controlled by the British. Judging by the documents published in the collection : "*Turkistan Territory-A collection of material on the history of its conquest*", two of them were killed and the Maharaja's message was intercepted. Abdurrahman Khan, Syed

24. Bajpai, S.C., *The Northern Frontier of India*, p. 123.
25. *Ibid. Kabul Diaries from 25th December, 1863 to 7th January 1864.*
26. *Persian Records*, File No. 349, SAR(J).
27. *Soviet Land*, No. 20, October, 1972.
28. *Ibid.*

Ramzan Khan and Serfraz Iskander Khan, representatives of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who survived the attack, reached their destination. The military Governor of Turkestan region, M. G. Chernyayev, received them and learned from them that the news of "Russian success" was widely known in Kashmir. . . . The members of the mission added that their aim was to "express friendly feelings" and to establish Russian-Indian relations, that the population of India was indigant at the colonialist policy of the British and was 'waiting for Russians'.

The Russian officials adopted a diplomatic position. They found it unreasonable to "push away people who could later be useful" to them espacially as regards trade ties, but at the same time noted that "promises of aid without a possibility of granting it would only damage Russia's image." The envoys from India were told that the Tzarist Government was not planning any conquest or military campaign and that its sole intention was "the development and strengthening of trade relations advantageous to all the people with whom it wishes to live in peace and accord." The guests from Kashmir spent more than seven months in Tāshkent. The Russian General D. A. Romanovsky, who had talks with them, wrote that these "simple but honest and intelligent people" frankly stated that the establishment of ties with mighty Russia would strengthen Kashmir's political position and prestige and that this "would be advantageous for them in respect of trade, since marketing of their products is greatly impeded by the British".

While side-tracking an answer to the political proposals made by the members of mission, the Russian authorities were responsive to matters of trade. The Kashmir merchants were granted, on the basis of mutual benefit, the same rights of trade with Russia as were enjoyed by the Central Asian merchants; granted assistance and patronage in the territory of the empire and low import and export duties. In October 1869, he again sent evoys to Tashkand. They arrived in June, 1870. The head of the mission *Bābā* Karam Parkāsa (as he is named in the documents) said he was close to the Maharaja, who was on friendly terms with the rulers of many states. He also spoke about worsening relations between the Maharaja and the British authorities and gave detailed information about the economy of Kashmir, its armed forces. He tried to present the State in the most favourable light with the apparent desire to arouse the interest of the officials in Tāshkent. But he too, did not meet any success . . . .[29]

29. *Ibid.*

"There were spies sent by the Maharaja to contact the Russians in Kattā Kurghan, and also *Kūkā* emmissaries from the Punjab. One of the spies, Gulāb Khān, "told the British that some secret agents—*Bābā* Karam Parkāsh, Sher Singh, Ishar Dāss and Mansukh—had been visiting the Russians in Central Asia on missions from the Maharaja of Kashmir. In 1880 he reported that the Russians had sent an agent, Abdul Wahāb, to the Maharaja with a letter saying; 'we are sending Abdul Rahmān Khān to Kābul. When he engages the English, you should raise a disturbance in the east, and we will assist you."[30]

The Maharaja of Kashmir is said to have sent a reply through Jiwan Mal, saying : "you are preparing for war with China : when you have not even crossed your border, how can I raise a disturbance till you advance ? We have a saying: '*abna dideh, Mozah Kashidah* (he has taken off his shoes before he even saw the water.) I will do nothing presipitate."[31]

"*Bābā* Karam Prakāsa", mentioned as head of the mission sent by Ranbir Singh to Russia in 1869, had also been sent to Nepāl. On his return he submitted the report to the Maharaja.[32]

Some scholars are, however, of the opinion that Ranbir Singh had sent his secret agents to Russia "at the instance of T. H. Thornton, the then Secretary to Punjab Government and with the knowlege of Sir John lawrence, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in order to obtain for the Government of India Information about the State of affairs in the Central Asia. But with the subsequent change of these officials, this fact was completely forgotten and the Maharaja was charged of endeavouring to open up direct relations with Russia, so much so that Lord Mayo had to administer a strong warning in 1870 to the Maharaja to commit no aggression on his neighbours and make no attempt to extend his authority beyond the limits which had beed conferred on his father.[33]

However, circumstances reveal that Ranbir Singh was secretly following his own independent policy in Central Asia. He was probing in that direction for allies to strengthen his position vis-a-vis the threatened onslaught of the British aggression. He had two

30. *The Statesman*, New Delhi, dated 10th January, 1965. "An Indian Secret Agent in Russian Turkestan" by Ahluwalia.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Persian Records*, File No. 651 of S. 1931, SAR (J).
33. Kapur, M.L., *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, Jammu, 1965, p. 57.

objects in view. The one was to assess the political circumstances and the military disposition of the neighbouring countries in order to ascertain the possibilities of his northward expansion. His military advance to about two or three marches beyond the Korakoram Pass in the direction of Yārkand and the occupation of Shāhdullā, was the result of this assessment. This move seems to have been the first step towards his projected invasion of Yārkand and Kāshgar which never materialised due to the British intervention.

The second object was to enhance his influence in that region, project his image there as a great power and finally to find out allies or stallites with whose cooperation he could challenge the British power in India. He was not ignorant of the aspirations and activities of the Indian nationalists, which culminated in the formation of the Indian National Congress in the year of his death. He was also alive to several political revolutions which had occurred in Europe in twenty-five years before his accession and also about the Crimean and Franco-Prussan were fought with some ill-effects on his kingdom. As Russian archival sources reveal, he had also felt the southward expansion of the Czarist Russia and had desired to come to some understanding with that power. Ranbir Singh desired to utilise all these circumstances to his benefit.

In the initial stage he attained some success in his endeavours. His agents and envoys frequently traversed routes to Central Asian countries, visited courts of the Central Asian rulers where they were warmly received. He received similar response from those countries and from Russian authorities. He was on good terms with the Chinese and Tibetan rulers. His influence was so great in Central Asia and Tibet that even British relations with that part of Asia were conducted through the Court of Jammu.

His success, however, went only so far. The turmoil prevailing in Central Asia promised him no allies or powerful stallites. China had been vanquished in her own territories recently by the British. Russia was found to be still far away from his country to be of any use in any emergency. Russians moreover had their own interests in Central Asia quite opposed to that of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's. In short, Ranbir Singh found Central Asian powers quite unfit either to uphold his power against the British or to held him maintain status quo in his relation with the British. The result was that he had to depend on his own political wisdom in order to keep the British wolf away from his barn. But at the same time he adjusted his foreign policy in tune with the realisation that his own power as an independent ruler was quite incompatible with his wishes. He therefore orientated whole of

his foreign policy without any resentment or compunction and concentrated all his efforts in drawing benefit out of the British fears of Russia and succeeded appreciably in conquering several tribal republics beyond Gilgit with the willing acquiescence of the British Government of India. He also kept at bay the grasping ambitions of his British over-lords. As a practical statesman Ranbir Singh abhorred dreaming impossibilities and his Central Asian Policy is a proof that he did not believe in putting his people into useless hazards.

CHAPTER

8

Ranbir Singh's Relations with the British

The genesis of the Dogrā relations with the British power in India can be traced back to the thirties of the nineteenth century. The Britis interference in Gulāb Singh's rise to power and his Tibetan conquests, their hostility towards ascendancy of Raja Dhiān Singh Dogrā and Raja Hirā Singh Dogrā at Lahore as Prime Ministers, were some of the land-marks in the long annals of Anglo-Dogra rivalry in the Punjab politics. It was only for once, during the first Sikh war, that the British sought friendship and neutrality of Gulāb Singh and installed him as a friendly Maharaja of the Jammu and Kashmir State. But soon after, mutual suspicion and distrust again mounted. Maharaja Gulāb Singh once made jocular but appropriate observation on British attitude towards him that his friends, the British Government "misunderstanding that shawl wool came from Kashmir, have started fleecing me".

The British resentment for transfering Kashmir to Gulāb Singh took the form of a bitter and irrational criticism of Kashmir administration as soon as Gulāb Singh had taken possession of the valley. "Whatever its motives, and much of it was inspired by little more than pique that Lord Hardinge had not annexed Kashmir and turned it into a paradise of 'English racing, English farming, English fox-

hunting and English cricket".[1] This press campaign was powerful enough in the "sixties and seventies to cause considerable embarrassment to successive viceroys and seriously alarm the Maharaja himself".[2] Criticising Mr. Thorp's statement in the *Friend of India* (Feb. 6,1868 p.155) The *Englishman* (Feb. 12,1868, p.2) observed that "The nonsensical cry about oppression should cease", but still driven by this criticism, and perhaps to pacify resentment to some degree the British Governor General thought it opportune to exhibit his concern for the welfare of the people of that country. He probably wanted to appease his antagonists by stressing his right to interfere in Kashmir affairs. Hardly a few months after the Treaty of Bhairowal, they mounted their first offensive against the Dogrās on the ground that the Government of India had received complaints of oppression, alleged to have been perpetrated by the Maharaja on his subjects. On-the-spot-enquiry by Henry Lawrence, however, revealed the allegations false and though, he absolved the Maharaja of the blame,[3] he addressed a sharp note to the Maharaja urging him to reorganise the administration in the State failing which the Government of India would be compelled to make arrangements "for the protection of the hill people."[4] The Governor General also made it a point to express his anxiety for the wrongs, which were not yet done, in the following words:

"In no case will the British Government be the blind instrument of the ruler's injustices towards his people, and if in spite of the friendly warning, the evil of which British Government may have just cause to complain, be not corrected, a system of direct interference must be resorted to which as your Highness must be aware would lower the dignity and curtail the independence of the ruler".[5]

Such a threatened interference was actually envisaged to be imposed in 1852 through the proposed appointment of a civil officer on special duty in the state, to look after the European visitors, who came to Kashmir in large numbers and whose conduct in the State,

1. *Proeeedings of Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. IV (1959-60), p. 32.

2. Lawrence to Wood, 21 Oct. 1865, WP/Box 7; Mayo to Argyll, 16 May 1870, AP/Reel 312, p.331. The book *Kashmir Misgovernment* by R. Thorp was enjoying considerable success at about this time.

3. *Foreign Deptt., Secr.* 28 Nov. 1847, Nos. 30 to 41. NAI.

4. *Foreign Deptt., Secr.* 28 Jan. 1847, No. 35 NAI.

5. *India Secret Consultations*, 28 Jan. 1848, No. 43 A; Hardinge, Governor-General to Gulāb Singh, 7 Jan. 1848, NAI.

required supervision.[6] However, the treaty of Amritsar with Gulāb Singh made no provision for a British representative at his court, and the usual clause which prohibited independent displomacy by a feudatory was omitted.[7] The Maharaja therefore, chose to disagree; but heavy pressure was put on him and he ultimately relented and accepted the appointment of the officer on special duty,[8] to look after the European visitors to the Kashmir Valley, during the summer months. Gulāb Singh had already categorically rejected the British plea to appoint a British resident at the Dogrā court. The British Government of India, however, continued its efforts to extend their influence and control on the administration and policy of the State which led to mutual distrust and enmity.

A few decades later Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, tried to justify the bases of Anglo-Dogrā relations during Ranbir Singh's reign by pointing out that: "It was a fortunate day when the mis-government of the Kashmir State and contemporary events in the Central Asia compelled the Indian Government to look more closely into and eventually to make itself responsible for the border defences of Kashmir."[9] The mis-government however, was a very vague term. Even the Hon'ble East India Company could do no bettter in its provinces and had to be divested of its power to rule and the British crown took over the administration of Indian Empire and continued to reform their won 'mis-government' incessantly for 90 years till they were forced to leave India in 1947. In realiy, it was the British resentment in transfering Kashmir to the Dogrās and their later endeavours somehow to usurp the Valley for themselves, which determined their policy towards the Dogrā Court. In the grip of their imperial interests they closed their eyes to Ranbir Singh's goodwill and his best efforts to give his State a stable and humane government so that they found faults with even the most revolutionary and democratic reforms carried out by the Dogrā Chief, blaming him for even natural calamities which no British Officer on Special Duty could averst.

Some British writers had already begun to question the propriety of the transfer of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulāb Singh. They even criticised the measures adopted by Maharaja Ranbir Singh to tighten

6. *Foreign Deptt. Political*, 14 Oct. 1852, Nos. 82-83. NAI.

7. Alder, G.J., *British India's Northern Frontier, 1865-95, A Study in Imperial Policy*; London, 1963, p. 100.

8. *For Deptt., Political*, 14 Oct. 1852, Nos. 82-83. NAI.

9. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book and other Papers*, p. 160.

his grip over the northern frontier. The author of "*Letters from India and Kashmir*" resented the transfer of Kashmir to the Dogrās as "one of the political mistakes which we make in a hurry to appease the demons economy, and repent at leisure, or regret the fatality of the national traditions that we throw away by diplomacy what we win by the sword".[10]

Another Britisher in India made a strong plea for the British occupation of Kashmir and pleaded that "Justice and humanity require that we begin to govern Cashmere ourselves, if it is not right, yet political interest ought to induce those who think more of politics than of justice and humanity, surely it is expedient as well as right to re-buy."[11]

Another 'trained' European, who not only gave up his religion but forsook his nationality also for the sake of a Kashmir belle bubbled with bigotary of a newly convert in these words:—"For purposes entirely selfish, we deliberately sold millions of human beings into the absolute power of one of the meanest, most avarcious cruel and unprincipled of men that ever sat upon a throne".[12] In the same strain a small portion of the press twisted the Governor General Hardinge with breach of faith in lending himself, to a 'Vizier in nefarious tricks upon his master'[13] implying that the governor general bungled in the affair and became a party to a secret intrigue for seating Gulāb Singh upon the throne before which once he was proud to bow. In a fit of ignorance about true circumstances of the transfer of Kashmir to Gulāb Singh, some called in 'a sale', while others fancied oppression on the face of even cheerful and hard-working Kashmiris. "To see the oppression is easy enough", grumbles a writer of vicarious situations, "to prove each act, and to trace it to its source is harder. The people may work away quietly, many of them may be happy, never known a better lot...But alas, the Kashmirs are treated just like so many convicts, none work for their own benefit."[14] The Anglo-Indian press harped on the one term "sale of Kashmir" and the question of moral rights which was 'complacently ignored both by the Government and the public', and the virtuous indignation into which it seems that a large party of the

10. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, George Bell & Sons, London, 1874, p. 162.
11. *Wrongs of Kashmir*, London, 1868, p. 84.
12. Thorp, Robert, *Kashmir Mis-government*, 1980, p. 82.
13. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI, 1846, p. 298.
14. Brinckman, Arthur, *The Wrongs of Kashmir*, p. 25.

former and small proportion of the latter, were thrown at the idea of any transgression of legal right with regard to interference in the affairs of Kashmir.[15]

Coupled with this resentment and the self-imposed duty of 'civilising' and 'reforming the native administration, was the growing political pressure of Russia in Europe and Central Asia, posing an imagined threat to British dominion in India. Both England and Russia were rivals of each other on both the fronts and understood each other's motives. After the Russo-Turkish war of 1828 and the Crimean War of 1853, Russia, finding her expansion towards the south continually thwarted, accelerated her pace towards the east. Within twenty years after the Crimean War, she had occupied Chimkent in 1864, Tashkent in 1865 and Khojent in 1866. Samarkand was occupied in 1868. When Russians entered Khiva in 1873, only Afghanistān remained between them and India.

In 1878 a Russian Mission under General Stolietoff arrived in Afganistān and was cordially received. The British Government on hearing this, proposed to the Amir that he should receive a British Mission headed by Sir Nevil Chamberlain but the Amir refused to accept the proposal. The British Government, thereupon, sent an ultimatum to the Amir and thereafter declared war.

The unobstructed progress of Russia thoroughly alarmed the British. The most vulnerable spot in the British armour was India. Methods of protecting India were feverishly discussed. Finally the choice fell upon what was described as the "scientific frontier" which entailed the extension of the strategic railway to Rāwalpindi and beyond, and of the strengthening of the Khyber Pass. While by these measures the British hoped to secure a safe north-western frontier, there were two doors to the north which still remained to be secured. These were Chitrāl and Gilgit both within the territories of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

On the north-western frontier when once the Dogrā outpost had been established at Gilgit, it was almost inevitable that the Maharaja's authority would have to extend over the stormy republican tribes which infested that border. In order to safeguard his possession of Gilgit Gulāb Singh had to attack Chitrāl in 1850-51, on route to Gilgit and compell it to pay nominal tribute to Jammu court. After the recapture of Gilgit in 1860, a nominee of the Dogrā court was installed at Puniāl as ruler. In 1863 Yāsin was occupied and Mulk

15. Thorp, Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

Amān, the son of Gauhar Amān, temporarily lost his throne.[16] Three years later the Dogrā forces attacked Hunza but met a failure, which fast provoked the tribes to form a hostile combination against Dogrā encroachments, which was led by Amānul Mulk of Lower Chitrāl. But despite this opposition the setback to Dogrā occupation was temporary and consolidation of conquests carried on. By the end of the sixties Dārel, Hunzā and Nagar were subdued and began to receive an annual subsidy in return for tribute and allegiance of the Dogrās.[17]

The northern boundry of Hunzā was co-terminus with the Russian frontier and intercourse between tribesmen on the two sides of the dividing line was frequent. As such it was by no means impossible for a small flying column of Cossacks to enter Hunzā. The northern frontier of Kashmir was thus, in the seventies of the last century, a source of great anxiety to the British. In the words of Edward Frederick Knight:

> "The value of Gilgit to the Kashmir State, commanding as it does the indus Valley and the south of Hunzā River and so holding in check the unruly tribes on either side, is obvious enough, but it is only recently that the great strategical importance to the Empire of this position, has been fully realised."[18]

However, these tribes were ever restless and the Dogrā military movement in the tribal frontier was an incessant affair. And this was the field of activity in which British Indian officials gradually found it necessary to interfere or at least to control the frontier policy of the Dogrā Government. In 1849 the Maharaja was asked in future to give prior information of his troop movements to the Punjab authorities,[19] and in the matter of the conquest of Chilās in 1851 by the Dogrās, it was emphasised that British consent was necessary in such

16. The geographer Hayward described this campaign in *The Pioneer* of 9th May, 1870.

17. Drew, F., *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 435-50; Drew's Memo; on the Politics of Gilgit, Frontier, *Sec. Consult.* 71, p. 1501; Pandit Munphool, undated *Report No. 123*; Leitner, pp. 81-86; Bidulph, *The Tribes of the Hindookoosh.*

18. Knight, E.F., *Where Three Empires Meet, a Narrative of Recent Travels in Kashmir Western Tibet, Gilgit and the Adjoining Countries*, London, 1935, p. vii.

19. *Pundit Munphool Report*, CPD/98, No. 123, pp. 8-10.

affairs.[20] In 1852 the first 'Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir' was appointed whose only duty was to look to the affairs of European visitors to Kashmir during the summer months so his stay in Kashmir was seasonal.[21]

However, this control and interference was mild and as long as Lawrence was Viceroy, the Maharaja was left free to deal with his own external and internal affairs. Even when in 1868 the Punjab authorities suggested the assumption of district control of Kashmir's external diplomacy because of events of Eastern Turkistān, Lawrence opposed the proposal as it would arouse the Maharaja's opposition and so be ineffective.[22]

He was unwilling to lose the advantage of having between India and Central Asia at least one friendly ruler, "thoroughly well disposed to British ascendancy and influence."[23]

His successor Mayo adopted a different attitude towards Jammu and Kashmir as the events in central Asia and in the State's frontier had started in influence British policy towards Kashmir whose defence from external danger, according to the Treaty, was the responsibility of the British Indian Government, "How this treaty (of Amritsar)," he wondered. "can be carried out without exercising direct control over the diplomatic transactions of the Kashmir State I cannot understand."[24] But he went no farther and concluded that a tighter grip on Kashmir without any overt reversal of Lawrence's 1868 decision could be enough,[25] it required "a constant watchfulness overall (its) diplomatic proceedings."[26]

The British began to regard Kashmir's northern frontier as their own "national frontier" and they lost no time in realising that "the importance of his portion of the frontier lies mainly in the proximity of the Russian outposts."[27] In the presence of threat to the State from that Eurasian power the British Government of India as "Surzerain power" feigned to realise that "the responsibilities of Kashmir become ours and it was recognised that the Hindukush for these hundreds of

20. *India Secret Consultation*, 25 July 1851, Nos. 22-24.
21. *India Pol. Consult.* 14 Dec. 1852, Nos. 82-83.
22. *Enclosures 4 and 5 of 15*, India, 28 Jan. 1868, CPD/96, No. 63.
23. *India Govt. to Punjab Govt.* 9 Nov. 1868, CIPO/110, No. 255.
24. *Minute on the Correspondence Enclosed with 24, India, 17 May 1870, LIM/6*, p. 365. Also Mayo to Argyll, 16 May 1870, AP/Reel 312, p. 331.
25. Enclosure 5 of 24, *op. cit.*
26. Mayo to Argyll, 16 May 1870, *Mayo Paper 139, No. 126*; *Govt. of India to Secretary of State for India*, 17 May, 1870.
27. Durand, Col. A., *The Making of a Frontier*, London, p. 2.

miles must be our national frontier". In its relation to British rule in India "the position of this Kingdom (J&K), its physical and other characters have an importance with its extent and general barrenness would scarcely warrant, for it constitutes a rocky bulwark to an Empire on its northern frontier a natural obstacle against any foe proceeding from that quarter".[28] The British diplomats were of the view that Jammu and Kashmir, the only one of the Indian feudatories that is on the outher frontiers of India "shares, as a matter of routine, the duties of the frontier watch and ward, since its confines march with both Russia and China.[29] Thus the British imperial policy towards Kashmir in the later ninteenth century was simply the attempt to employ that kingdom as the guardian of the northern frontier, without hostility, expense and added responsibilities which its annextion would involve.[30]

While the British diplomats had learn to appreciate the uniquely strategic position of Ranbir Singh's dominions, they were growing more suspicious of the Dogrā ruler's activities and it was frequently expressed through Anglo-Indian press, almost an official mouth-piece of British policy in India. Lt. Geore W. Hayward wrote from Yāsin concerning Dogrā garrison at Gilgit kept there to guard the frontier that:

"It is striking anamoly that a Court so notorious for its persimony as that of Jummoo should be content to expend large sums of money yearly for the purpose of maintaining its position across the Indus. What ulterior motives the Kashmir Durbār may entertain will be presently glanced at... It is, I believe well known, that Russian agents have already met with favourable reception in Kashmir: at least this fact is known to those who have had opportunities of ascertaining the truth and viewing the system of policy pursued by the Court at Jammoo. I may even hint at agents of the Maharaja who are now in Central Asia, of Agents in Tāshkent and in Bokhārā, all sent secretly by this most loyal feudatory of the Viceroy of India. The late annexation of the districts of Kolāt and Khokand brings Russian influence within little more than 200 miles of the pass at the head of Yāsin and Gilgit valleys. The Maharaja is now intriguing with Russia by the route of Gilgit, Yāsin, Kolāt and Bokhārā cannot be doubted; nor is it less clear that should the court of Jummoo be allowed to

28. *Ibid.*

29. Wakefield, William, *The Happy Valley; Sketches of Kashmir and the Kashmiris*, London, 1879, p. 12.

30. Alder, G.J., *op. cit.*, p. 100.

continue the policy it is now pursuing, they will very shortly involve the British Government in what may be very serious complications in Central Asia".[31]

Though not disposed to exaggerate the importance of the reported intrigues of the Maharaja, the Viceroy was yet aware of the larger issues involved in the Russian advance in Central Asia, who had recently occupied Khiva in 1873, and this new Russian acquisition created all sorts of rumour in British India. Besides the closer relations which were likely to be established with Yārkand as a result of a recent commercial mission to the Atāliki Ghāzi led Northbrook to consider advisibility of a British Resident in Kashmir.[32]

The most fervent mouthpiece of British imperialism in India, the *Friend of India* advocated a strong action against the Maharaja of Kashmir for violating Article 4 of the Treaty of Amritsar. In a series of articles entitled "European and Native Life in Kashmir", the newspaper advocated such a policy. In one of its most candid utterances the newspaper pleaded:

"Now the limits of these territories have been changed without the consent of the British Government. The Cashmere Chief has crossed the Indus and occupied the country called Gilgit which lies west of that river. The territory is in no way dependant on or connected with Cashmere. It is beyond the river Indus and, therefore, outside the exterme boundary of India and the inhabitants are not and never have been Hindoos. In fact it is considered by the Raja's army and subjects as a foreign and conquered country, and the troops, on that account, receive extra pay when called upon to serve there . . . . It is, therefore, undoubted fact that the 4th and the 5th Articles of the Treaty between our Government and the rules of Cashmere have been openly and contemptuously violated by that prince".[32] Concluding observations the newspaper suggested the following measures for adoption by the British Government:

1. A Resident should be maintained at Srinagar permanently and not for a few months of the year. He should be an officer of the same standing and invested with the same powers as the

31. *The Pioneer*, dated 9 May, 1870. Lt. Hayward, the author of the article was deputed by the Royal Geographical Society of London to explore the Pamir Steppe.

32. *File No. 432, of A.D. 1870*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

Resident of Hyderabad and should have a small force under his im mediate orders.

2. He should have Residents at Leh and Skardu, Jammu can be watched from Sialkot.
3. A good military road should be made from Abbotābād or Murree to Srinagar, these are the only routes which can be kept open all the year; there are no engineering difficulties in the way; the expenses to be borne by the Raja.
4. A sanatorium for 1,000 British troops should be established at Gulmarg, a mountain commonly 25 miles from Srinagar and nearly 9,000 feet above the sea. The force should be a garrison for Srinagar.
5. The Raja's administration should be thoroughly reformed, the taxation cut down; forced labour abolished; the army and officials compelled to pay for all they use, a few roads first of all to Leh and Skardū, should be made; schools and courts of law established and the coinage of British India introduced".[33]

These critics were ignorant of the fact that in 1848 the Resident and the Agent (at the Sikh court at Lahore) to Governor-General actually urged Gulāb Singh, to Strengthen the Gilgit garrison. Later, in 1870, the Indian Government stated categorically that Gilgit was included in the territories formally ceded to the Maharaja by Treaty.[34]

But the press propaganda was in conformity with re-thinking of the British rulers who, in their anxiety to tighten their control over Jammu and Kashmir, began to try various methods to make the Maharaja agree to the appointment of a British Resident in the State or, at least, a British agent at Gilgit. It was actually Lord Northbook, Viceroy of India, who officially revived the Residency question. Early in 1873, R.H.Davis, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab had sent to the Viceroy a communication that hinted at the Kashmir's intrigues with Russia.[35] The Viceroy had, therefore, strongly supported the case for the posting of British Resident in Kashmir for the purpose of obtaining first hand information on political developments in the State and the countries to the north and west of it. But Ranbir Singh, on one pretext or the other, did not even allow a Britisher to stay in

33. *File No. 432 of A.D. 1870*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

34. *India Govt. to Punjab Govt., 16 May, 1870, enclosed with 24, India, 17 May 1870*, LIM/G., p.365.

35. *Davis to Northbrook, 6 Feb., 1873*, Argyll Papers/Reel 317.

the valley after the summer months. The post office was allowed to run from 15th April to 15th October after which all foreigners were ordered out of the country.

With the growing suspicious of the British officers and the mounting hostility of the Anglo-Indian press, Ranbir Singh's mistrust of the British Government of India became stronger. He became very much suspicious of British diplomacy and proposals so that the Viceroy, Lord Lytton had to confess in a letter to the Queen that:

> "In the first inteview which took place months ago between him and Kashmir, and which resulted in his securing his (Runbir Singh's) assent to the appointment of a British Officer at Gilgit, I noticed, that though perfectly courteous, he was extremely mistrustful of the British Government and myself. He seemed to think that every word I had said to him must have a hidden meaning against which he was bound to be on his guard".[36]

The Maharaja expressed his fears and mistrust more clearly to Edward E.Meakin. Speaking at a meeting of the East India Association, London, in August 1889, Mr. Meaking recalled the prophecy made by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1876. Talking on the analogy of a buffer in a train the Maharaja concluded his speech :

"Every now and then there is a tilting of Roos towards Afghanistān, and simultaneously there is a tilting upwards of the great engine of Calcutta. I am the poor little button between them. Some day, perhaps not for distant, there will be a tilting from the north, and Afghanistān will smash up. Then there will be a tremendous tilt from south, and I shall be buried in the wreck and lost : It may not be in my time, but it is sure to come when the poor little button is on the pinpointing to his son, the present Maharaja. . . ."[37]

36. Belfour, Lady Betty, *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 120.

37. The full text of the conversation as reported by William Digby is as under :

"I was one day sitting by the side of the late Maharaja (Ranbir Singh) talking over various matters, his eldest son (Pratāp Singh) the present Maharaja was seated on the other side of him. The Maharaja suddenly turned to me and said : "I learned a great many things by my recent visit to Calcutta. Some of my people urged me not to go, saying that no sooner should I leave my territory than I should find myself a sort of honoured State prisoner, something like Shah Shoojah when he visited Ranjeet Singh, who would not allow him to cross the Sutlej until he had left the Koh-i-Noor

The apprehended "smash" however, did not happen but the relations of the Jammu court with the British rulers of India cardinally remained that of mistrust and pregnant with a suppressed spirit of hostility seemingly on the brink of explosion for a long time.

In such an atmosphere of distrust and resentment which had developed only within two years after the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar, the British Government of India hinted in 1848 at their intention of appointing a resident at the Jammu Court, on the plea of misgovernment, but Maharaja Gulāb Singh stubbornly refused to

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behind him. They said that it was an open secret that the British wanted to annex Kashmir, and that it was only a question of time and skilful manoeuvring and that I should be inveigled into allowing the first step towards the attainment of that object before I should be permitted to return to my country'; and His Highness concluded with a decisive laugh".

"I remarked that the safety of His Highness's dominions lay in a good sound administration and the encouragement of trade and commerce. I also told His Highness that he must be careful not to give any excuse for the British authorities to interfere with him, and that, if they did unjustly interfere, he might always rely upon the English Press to defend his rights".

"After a pause he said : Sahib, what do you call that little thing between the railway carriages? It is like a button stuck on a sort of gigantic needle that runs through the train, and when the carriages are pushed at once and on the other you hear a "hough, hough" a bang they go against the poor little button. I felt very sorry for the poor little button, but it is doubtless useful in its way. What do you call it? I replied that I believe it was a buffer. 'Buffer, that's just what I am, and that shall henceforth be one of my titles : and he directed Dewān Kirpā Rām to see that it was written down correctly. I was puzzled for a moment to know what to say or do. I felt a fear lest some other European might come after me who might make His Highness think that I have been hoaxing him. I begged to be allowed to explain that in the English language the word 'buffer', when applied to human beings, had another, significance which would not apply to His Highness, as it was a term of derison, 'Never mind,' said he, 'it is all the same, I am a buffer; on the one side of me there is the big train of the British possessions, and whenever they will tilt northward they will tilt up against me; then on the other side of it is the shaky concern-Afghanistān, and on the other side of it is the ponderous train and engine called Roos. Every now and then there is a tilting of Roos towards Afghanistān, and simultaneously there is a tilting upwards of the great engine of Calcutta. I am the poor little botton between them. Some day, perhaps not far distant, there will be a tilting from the North, and Afghanistān will smash up. Then there will be a tremendous tilt from the South, and I shall be buried in the wreck and lost : It will not be in my time, but it is sure to come when the poor little botton is on the pin'-pointing to his son, the present Maharaja, who laughed merrily at the novel idea" (William Digby, *Condemned Unheard*, pp. 79-80).

agree to the proposal. The issue was muted again in 1857 and although no resident was appointed, but instead the Indian Government was content with the posting of a British Officer on Special Duty in Srinagar during the Summer part of the year as pointed out above.

During the first decade of Ranbir Singh's reign there took place various developments in Central Asian politics that the British Government of India became much concerned about the north-western border of the Indian Empire. Their suspicion about the Dogrā intentions in Central Asia grew stronger apace with Maharaja Ranbir Singh's conquest and annexation of Gilgit and the bordering Dard and Shināki republics and idea of appointing a resident in the Jammu Court started haunting the British politicians in India. The revelation of the fact of the "negotiation which the Yārkand envoy says have been going on between Kashmir and Yārkand," convinced the British Governor-General that the appointment of a permanent resident was one of great and increasing importance, and "If properly filled the advantage to Government both in respect to the control of the political doings of Cashmere and the information to be obtained from Central Asia will be very great."[38] Although the Governor-General was of the view that the direct intercourse of Jammu Court with Central Asian countries and even correspondence with Russia, were "not contrary to any particular letter of Treaty"[39] and could not be harmful to British interests because Ranbir Singh's interests were "so bound up with the British that he could not possibly wish success to the Russians,"[40] yet the "British interests in Central Asia demanded the measure"[41] of appointing resident.

The necessity was urgently felt on the report of a Kashmiri named Khāliqdār who had come from Yārkand and had informed the Maharaja that "when he was in Yārkand a member of the Russian Mission had a talk with him, that there would be direct correspondence between Your Highness and the Russian Government".[42] Although the Maharaja had out of good-will sent an abstract of the affair to the Government of India without any reserve, the British authorities were constrained to point out that 'intercommunication with Russia is an imperial concern' and that direct correspondence

38. *For. Deptt. Sec. Nos 19-29* (K.W.) Proced. March 1875, NAI.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Correspondence between the Maharaja and Govt. of India.*
42. *Ibid.*

between Russia and Kashmir is not proper, but will lead to improper complications". Punjab Government conveyed to the Maharaja the opinion and decision of the Governor-General as under:

"And as your Highness's State is situated on North-Eastern Frontier of British India and is an important place, and there are many political dealings with Central Asia, and it is urgently necessary to have correct and expeditious news and accounts on the other side of the Passes and the mountains (Himalaya) and as owing to exaggerated and unfounded rumours of these parts, great inconvenience is caused; . . . His Excellency in Council is of opinion that a British Resident may remain permanently in your Highness' Court". The Governor-General justified the proposed arrangement on the ground that fresh type of relations "have sprung up between British India and countries outside India". In order to extract Ranbir Singh's consent for the proposed arrangement, he was assured that "His Excellency, however, does not wish that there should be any interference in the internal affairs of Kashmir".[43]

The Maharaja received the proposal with the surprised resentment and exhibited his concern "indispensable for honour of my government". He sought interview with R.H. Davies, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, to express his personal sentiments and disapproval. Sir Davies came to Jammu and the Maharaja had two interviews with him on the 5th and 6th December, 1873. At the second interview, Ranbir Singh handed over to Sir Davies a memorandum containing his objections to the proposed appointment of a Resident at his Court. In this *arzi* Ranbir Singh boldly tells the British authorities that ". . . . I have come to the conclusion that with the exception of one favourable point, which, however, can be easily gained in the manner indicated below, there are certain points which will adversely effect the interests of the State..."[44] The one favourable point indicated was the receipt of early and reliable information regarding the affairs of Central Asia. Ranbir Singh's contention was that this one favourable point could "be easily gained" through officer on special duty at Srinagar and by "appointing Englishmen like Mr. Drew and Mr. Johnson in Ladākh",[45] as State Officers. "The work of the Mission as well as of the affairs of Yārkand and Central Asia may be entrusted to the British official

43. *Ibid.*

44. *File No. 1* (Old English Records), p. 5 Application of the Maharaja condemning the appointment of Resident in Jammu Court, SAR (J).

45. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

who is deputed for six months of the summer to Kashmir."[46] If desired the official could stay for eight months, to which the Maharaja would have no objection. As such "The appointment of a Resident", emphasised Ranbir Singh, "in my Darbār will serve no useful purpose in respect to the mission or the Central Asian affairs."[47]

As against this one favourable point which could be gained by other steps short of the appointment of a resident, Ranbir Singh categorically arrayed a number of "the points against the proposal", which were as follows :

Firstly, "the appointment of a Resident will be against all the treaties and *sanads*. . . ."

Secondly, "it will be generally concluded that the appointment of a Resident has been the result of mal-administration or some doubt or misdeed."

Thirdly, "The heirs to the countries conquered by the late Maharaja Sahib as well as their relations, when it is rumoured that the British Government has lost faith in us, will set afoot such rumours as will prove very injurious to the state administration." Other undesirable consequences were also feared. By the "arrangement" suggested above, "the object of the Government will be fully gained".[48] The appointment of resident in "my court", therefore will not only be unnecessary, but "will in addition to lowering me in the estimation of people be for the following reasons opposed to unity".

1. For the last twenty-eight years since the execution of the treaty, action has been taken in conformity with the provisions thereof, while the proposal in question is a departure therefrom.
2. At the denial of direct correspondence of the Supreme Government through the State Representative "I have despaired of the connection I had with you and it betrays a want of attention on your part. . . ."
3. The Supreme Government has, in their letter dated the 7th August 1857, expressly laid down that "I shall be accorded treatment similar to that with the late Maharaja. The procedure, now proposed was never followed in the time of the late Maharaja".

46. *Ibid.*,
47. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 6

4. Further when in 1852, Maj. Megregor was appointed as Officer on Special Duty in Srinagar it was agreed to by Col. Lawrence and reduced to writing that the aforesaid officer shall stay only during summer and the agreement has been acted up to ever since".
5. In the disturbance created by *Sardar* Chatt$_a$ Singh and *Amir* Dost Muhammad of Kābul in 1848-49 r"I myself all the while stayed in Jammu and did not listen to the temping letters that were received from *Amir* Dist Muhammad Khan and *Sardār* Chatter Singh and remained firm and loyal to the Government (of India) and rendered meritorious services to the Government." Subsequently, in the Mutiny of 1857, the Maharaja realised "my foremost duty was to remain faithful and rendered services to the Government,"—and at the time of the demise of Maharaja *Sāhib*. I unhesitantingly despatched armies to Delhi although agreeably to the Treaty, I was required to render assistance in contiguous countries only as laid down in the *sanad* granted by Sir John Lawrence on 22nd May 1958", but "did not covet territory or *Jāgir*" even when other Maharajas actually received these rewards. And now that "I have gained experience I shall be the better able to render services to the Government and consequently deserve better confidence of the Government."
6. In the case of the Maharaja of Patiālā, Jind and Nābhā, *jāgirs* was granted by the Government and "enhanced powers were granted to them and the Agency that had been established 3 years previsouly was kindly removed, while in the case of my State where Agent was never appointed it is proposed now."
7. "The administration of my State is, with the grace of God and with your attention improving daily. . . . The trade has increased to three times its value in the last years. The population of the country as well as cash contracts are all on the increase. . . . "Moreover, I personally sūperintend state affairs. Appointment of a resident in other States was invariably due to either the minority of the Ruler or the mal-administration of the State.
8. The Residents appointed in other States were required to stay all the year round, but in the case of this State it was expressly laid down in *sanads* of the British Government

that the officers would only remain for the summer season.

9. His action in the Khāliq Dār affair and the services rendered to the Forsyth Mission by him entitle him to Government's confidence in him.
10. In spite of the Government's undertaking about the officer in Ladākh that "the said officer would not interfere in any way, "there had been gross infringement of this assurance by Dr. Caylay (Officer in Ladākh). Such eventuality might arise in case of resident also, in which case the officer might be displeased if complained against, and "If on the other hand, out of regard for the said officer we keep silent, we shall have to bear the inconveniences (brunt) of interference."
11. The case of Mr. Cooper (Special officer), who falsely claimed the credit of remittance of large outstanding revenues by the Maharaja himself, the state might render, will have the name of the resident associated with it and this act or service of the Government (whether advancement of the country), was done in consultation with the advice of the said officer and in that case our labours will be fruitless.
12. Lastly, Ranbir Singh pointed out that in the letter of the Government of India concerning the appointment of Mr. Wynne as Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir in 1873, it was stated that he had been appointed as such "according to the usual practice", i.e., for the season only. Therefore his appointment as resident now was against the spirit of the communication.

"In the view of the above reasons", concluded Ranbir Singh, "The appointment of a Resident will mean a bad name and the case of disgrace for me".[49]

At the same time Ranbir Singh suggested an alternative arrangement to see that "the British Government may be relieved of all anxiety with respect to Central Asian Affairs". He offered concession in the form of extension of the period of stay of the Joint Commissioner in Ladākh and the officer on Special Duty in Kashmir. He agreed that the former "may stay till such time as the Mission completes its work throughout the year in Lai for the affairs of

49. *File No. 1* (Old Eng. Records), trans. of an application from the Maharaja, pp. 5-11, SAR (J).

Central Asia and may keep the Government informed from time to time". Hence in this situation. "The appointment of a Resident in my Darbār will serve no useful purpose in respect of the Mission or the Central Asian Affairs".[50] He suggested that both these functions "be entrusted to the British Official who is deputed for six months of summer to Kashmir," and in case of the duties being heavy "if the official stays in Kashmir for eight months, I will have no objection.[51] To further allay the suspicions aroused in the Government of India about his Central Asian Interests and the Khāliq Dār affair, he offered "to allow one of his sons to be detained in the British territory as a hostage".[52]

This strong protest of Ranbir Singh, built on a sound logic, cooled down Governor-General's fervour for imposing a resident on Jammu court. Lord North-brook abolished the resident vide *sanad* dated the 25th March, 1874, and the Maharaja was assured that the 'officer on special duty' in Kashmir would be styled so instead of 'Resident'.[53] The Governor-General further assured that "I should be exceedingly sorry to urge upon the Maharaja any course which would be distasteful to His Highness feelings".[54] Thus Ranbir Singh's bold representation pushed the question of appointment of resident into cold storage and the Governor-General had to make the commitment "that the Government of India have not the least desire to interfere with the internal Government of his territories.

Another irritant in Anglo-Dogrā relations was the clash of interests of both sides in Gilgit and Shināki principalities.[55]

As stated earlier the Dogrā occupation of Gilgit had opened a new phase in the history of Kashmir's western frontier. In many ways the Dogrās there were face to face with problem of how to control refractory border peoples for 'once the Hindu outpost had been established at Gilgit it was almost inevitable that the Kashmir authorities would have to extend their influence over the stormy Muslim tribes which surround it."[56] In response to this need the

50. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *For Sec. Nos. 19-29 Proced. March 1875*, Lt. Governor Punjab to Viceroy, 7 December, 1873, NAI.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *File No. 1 of 1873, op. cit.*, p. 13, SAR(J).
55. *For Sec. Nos. 19-29, Proced. March 1875*, Northbrook to Davies, 25th March, 1874, NAI.
56. Alder, G.J., *British India's Northern Frontier*, 1865-95, London, 1963, p. 103.

Dogrās extended their influence from time to time over the adjoining tribal territories of Chilās, Puniāl, Yāsin, Dārel, Hunzā and Nagar. In return for a nominal tribute and allegiance they received small subsidies from the Dogrā Court. Although Ranbir Singh's influence on these turbulent tribes was quite precarious yet this was the field of activity in which the British authorities found it necessary to interfere. But as long as Lawrence was Viceroy, the Maharaja was left alone and his frontier activities were ignored. His successor, Mayo, however, took a strong notice of these so that when he met the Maharaja at Sialkot, he warned him to "Commit no aggression on his neighbours and make to attempt to extend his authority beyond the limits which had been confered on his father".[57]

At the root of Mayo's policy lay distrust of the Dogrā ruler. He distrusted the use Maharaja Ranbir Singh might make of the frontier conquests. "They would bring the Maharaja's territory close to the disputed Afghān lands just across the Hindu Kush, in which Russia was showing such a marked interest at that time,[58] and facilitate Kashmir intrigues with Kābul and with the Russians at Tāshkent. Mayo thus preferred a cordon sanitaire between Kashmir and the disputed Upper Oxus territories north of the mountains. If either Chitrāl or Kashmir had to have Gilgit, then he preferred it to Chitrāl, although Henry Durand, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, believed it "more to our interests that the head of the Gilgit valley be in the hands of Kashmir than in the hands of Chitral"[59] Mayo's successor Lord Northbrook, believed that a tighter grip on Kashmir was necessary policy towards frontier tribes and to keep a close watch on foreign relations of the Jammu Court.[60] But later geographical exploration of the Pamir passes of Ishkomān and Baroghil and the discovery of Russian activity in this direction, taken in conjunction with Bidulph's discoveries, eventually convinced Northbrook that Mayo's policy of opposition to Kashmir's extension in Dardistān would have to be abandoned,[61] and his parting advice to his successor, Lord Lytton, 'was a strong recommendation that Kashmir control should be exteneded over Chitrāl and Yāsin right up to the southern side of

57. Moore Memo, 30 Nov. 1878, *Sec. & Pol. Memo A. 21, 13,* India, 10 May 1877, AP 1878-9 LVI-c. 2190, p. 160.

58. *Lytton to Beaconsfield,* 3 Oct. 1876, India Officer records, NAI.

59. Alder G.J., *op.cit.*, p. 109.

60. Lyall to Henrey, 14 April 1878, *See. Proced. Oct. 1879-Mic. Film Rec.*, 1OL., NAI.

61. Alder, G.J., *op.cit.*, p. 114.

the passes.[62] The petty Chieftains of Chitrāl, Dārel, Hunzā, Yāsin and other small dependancies were in a habit of tendering, more or less surreptitiously, their allegiance alternatively to Kābul, Kashmir and China. This tendency could be dangerous to British interests. The situation was aggravated by the recent acquisiton "by the Chinese of the dominions of the late *Amir* of Kāshghar," coupled with "the possible existence of a secret understanding between Russia and China for territorial exchanges in Eastern Turkistān".[63] The Kashmir frontier, therefore, became a vital concern for the British Indian Government, and the establishment of British influence on these tribes by "indirect means" became necessary. This could be done through the Dogrā dominion or through Afghanistān, and probably he had a special fancy for the latter. Consequently, in May 1876 Lytton had believed that the extension of Dogrā power over Yāsin, which Northbrook had recommended, should only be attempted if negotiations with the Afghāns failed. According to the instructions of Salisbury he had tried for a satisfactory arrangement with Sher Ali, the Afghān *Amir*. should the attempt fail however Kashmir was to be set up as a buffer.[64] While his negotiations with the *Amir* were pending the ruler of Chitrāl, being threatened by Sher Ali, had offered his allegiance to Maharaja.[65] Lytton caught hold of this opportunity for a re-settlement of British relations with the Dogrā ruler. His offer was simple: British support would be given to Kashmir, it if was needed to occupy Yāsin and Chitrāl and secure the two passes. In return, Britain would obtain a permanent resident in Kashmir and right to post an agent at Gilgit. Such an arrangement would secure to the Indian Government an affective control over the Iskomān and Baroghil passes and thus serve as a check upon Russian encroachments upon the northern frontiers of India.[66]

Lytton put forwarded his proposals at his meeting with the Maharaja at Madhopur on 17 and 18 November 1976.[67] Ranbir Singh was willing enough to extent his possessions on the frontier tribes with the promise of British help and five thousand rifles, but he "kicked long and strenuously" against the political over-seering

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Lytton to Northbrook*, 10 April 1876, *Lytton Papers/1518/1*, p. 75.

64. Lytton to Salisbury, 5 April 1878, *Lytton Papers/518/2*, pp. 248-49.

65. *Aman-ul-Mulk to Maharaja*, NAI, PSLEI/14, pp. 643-34.

66. Alder, G.J., *op. cit.*, p 118; Ghose, Dilip Kumar, *Kashmir in Transition*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 13.

67. For details of Madhopur meeting refer to Appendices.

envisaged in the proposal. But Lytton made it a sine quanon of the proposed arrangement, and at one stage it seemed as if the negotiations would fall through. Ranbir Singh vehemently objected to the appointment of a British agent at Gilgit. He seems to have been most afraid of the sort of high-handed interference in domestic matters[68] "like what was done by Dr. Caley at Ladākh. Lytton only get his way by keeping quiet about his plan to keep the British resident in Kashmir all the year, and by giving written assurances that there would be no interference by the Gilgit agent in the domestic affairs of the Kashmir".[69] In pursuance of the decision Biddulph was sent at the end of 1877 to his isolated post as the first British 'Officer on special duty in Gilgit,'[70] with the instructions "to furnish reliable intelligence of the progress of events beyond the Kashmir Frontier—and . . . in consultation with the Kashmir authorities, to cultivate friendly relations with the tribes beyond the border in view to bringing them gradually under the control and influence of Kashmir.[71]

The establishment of the Gilgit Agency secured" vicarious control over the tribal chiefs beyond the Kashmir frontier. But Lytton planned a more direct contact with the Jammu court as in his opinion, a special importance now attached to Kashmir and therefore relations with this state were now imperial rather than local and whose interests as Ranbir Singh himselves observed "are identical with those of the Empire".[72] So far correspondence between the Government of India and the Dogrā Court was conduced through the Punjab Government and the Maharaja's representative (*motamid*) with that Government. Lytton made a change to the extent that in important or urgent matters, "specially in regard to matters pertaining to foreign relations, there would be direct correspondence without the channel of Punjab Government with the Government of India."[73] The Maharaja was requested to appoint his agent (*motamid*) with the Supreme Government, and also to approve of this change in the *Dastur-ul-Amal*.[74]

68. *Lytton to Salisbury*, 22 July, 1876, Lytton Papers/518/1, pp. 304-306.

69. *Maharaja to Lytton*, 26 Nov. 1876, Lytton Papers/518/V. Appendix.

70. Balfour, *Personal and Literary letters of Robert, First Earl of Lytton*, p. 46.

71. A.N. Wolston, *Memo. on Chitral*, Pt. 1, 8 Oct. 1878, p. 9.

72. Balfour, B. Lord Lytton, *Indian Administration*, London; 1899, p. 121; *Lytton to Henderson*, 12 May 1877, Lytton Papers/578 pp. 362-63.

73. *Maharaja to Lord Ripon, File No. 1 of 1873*, Old Eng. Records, SAR (J) pp. 12-14.

74. *Lytton to Maharaja, dated 14 May, 1877, File No. 1 of 1873*, Old English records, SAR (J) pp. 13-14.

From his past experience with the British displomacy, Ranbir Singh suspected a foul play in this affair and insisted upon a status quo in matters or all types of correspondence and insisted that "in conformity with treaties and obligations the old practice and procedure may continue for ever and work be conducted through the *Motamid* on duty."[75] The Governor-General, however firmly told the Maharaja that for frontier matters the channel for communication was the officer on special duty as the old procedure entailed delay and meant irregularity and interference in the arrangement of work.[76] At the same time he assuaged the suspicions of the Maharaja by assuring him that there was "no desire of intention whatsoever to enhance the duties or powers of the officers on special duty, and I quite agree with your Highness that in present circumstances it is inadvisable to effect any change in the position and powers of this officer.[77]

Though the Maharaja relented on this occasion also, yet his attitude towards the British Government of India became more relentless and cold and the willing cooperation from him was no longer forthcoming. Lytton prevailed upon Amān-ul-mulk, the ruler of Chitrāl to come to a definite agreement with the Jammu Court. It was only at the end of 1878 that Amān committed himself to a treaty alliance with the Maharaja by which he recognised the suzerainty of the latter in return for an annual subsidy of Rs.12,000.[78] At the end of 1878 the treaty was sent to Amān-ul-Mulk with the first instalment of the subsidy and early in 1879, Chitrāli envay returned with an almost identical document. Amān had not even bothered to sign it, but had simply stated that it had his approval.[79]

The Madhopur police of Lytton, so enthusiastically propounded and executed with high expectation of success in taming the lawless and bargaining plunderers of Dardistān-Chitrāl region and of harnessing them in the service of imperial interests through the Dogrā Court, could not succeed due to certain obvious reasons. One of these, according to British diplomats, was the religious factors. It was inevitable, they concluded, that the Muslim tribes would resist to

75. *Ranbir Singh to the Governor-General,* dated 10 Nov. 1883-SAR (J), Old Eng. Records, *File No 1*, pp. 15-16.

76. *Governor-General to Maharaja, ibid.*, p. 18.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

78. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. XI, p. 427.

79. Alder, G.J. *op. cit.*, p. 112.

the uttermost any extension of the influence of their traditional Hindu enemy. "Their relations with the Dogrā rulers were based on no community of interest and would normally have been distant, if not actually hostile". Amān-ul-Mulk in particular was in an impossible position. If Madhopur was to succeed, he had to alien himself with the 'Cow-worshipers' of Kashmir and the British '*Kāfirs*—against the free Islam of the wild neighbours who surrounded him".[80] Nothing that the Dogrā Court or British power offered could offset these basic facts of Chitrāl's geo-political environment. Amān therefore, did his best to minimize the significance of his relation with the Jammu Court and to maintain as close ties as possible with Kābul. These subsidy hungry chiefs respected only gold or force, and when they found both inadequate they practised blackmail. Pahalwān Bahādur of Yāsin claimed that he had met with nothing but bad treatment and bad faith from Kashmir; Amān was even more contemptuous of the Kashmir subsidy—I can take a few *Kaffir* women and sell them as much? he said, and he made fresh overtures to Kābul for a marriage alliance.[81] Thus the Chirtāl-Kābull iaison, which Lytton sought to prevent, became more serious. The British had thought of using Ranbir Singh as a paw in their frontier policy of detaching Chitrāl from Afghanistān on the one hand, and Yāsin from Chitrāl on the other and put both under the control of the Dogrā Court. But none of the objects could be achieved. The British politicians had made a wrong move by yoking the unwilling Maharaja in their central Asian policies. The Madhopur arrangement broke down and Lytton himself concluded just one month before he laid down his office that policy of Madhopur was "a complete failure."[82] His successor, Ripon did not favour the Gilgit Agency policy, because tribal intrigues and their mutual jealonsies had made it clear that unless the Agency and the Dogrā garrisons in Gilgit were sufficiently strengthened, that remote frontier could not be effectively controlled. Biddulph actually demanded more powers and reinforcements to deal directly with the frontier tribes. But the Indian Foreign Office did not favour more involvement. Ripon's doubts about the usefulness of the Agency were confirmed by the Yāsinee attack on Gilgit in October 1880. This finally decided him to with-

80. *Ibid.*, p. 134-135.

81. Biddulph, *Report of a Journey to Yasin and Chitral*, 22 Dec. 1878, encls. 74, India, 27 March, 1879, PFI/21, p. 1353.

82. *Lytton to Report*, 20 and 21 March 1880, Roberts Papers/Box File L-7 R/37/84.

draw the Gilgit Agent from his distant post in 1881.[83] The Maharaja was, however, instructed to abide by the Madhopur agreement and not to take any important step on the frontier without consulting the officer on special duty in Sringar. The Government of India also reserved full discretion to send back an officer to Gilgit if it should hereafter seem desirable.[84]

For the failure of Madhopur Lytton and his team burdened the blame on Maharaja Ranbir Singh whose "treachery" they suddenly discovered one day and found some evidence of Kashmir double-dealing "which Roberts unearthed at Kābul." It made nonsense of Madhopur. The ally whose influence a British agent at Gilgit was supposed to spread as a bulwark against Russia and Afghanistān, was found to have been in secret correspondence with both."[85] Treachery was never proved against the Maharaja and he was unjustly made a scape-goat for the failure of a wrong policy executed by the British authorities in quite an erraneous manner. Instead of devising the policy and leaving it entirely to the Maharaja for its successful execution, they imposed more officers on the Dogrā ruler who had already witnessed the high handedness and unwise policy of the officer on special duty in all sorts of intrigues against the rurel and encroachment upon his powers. Ranbir Singh had to lodge strong protests against their uncalled for interference several times and got the situation redressed. In this last and wholesale attempt of the British authorities in India to subvert his power and position on the plea of protection of the frontier, they found him most-uncompromising. There is no doubt that Biddulph's life at Gilgit was deliberately made unpleasant by the Dogrās. Biddulph unwisely made accusations against the Dogrā Governor at Gilgit. The Maharaja replaced the Governor in question, but his extreme bitterness at what he doubtless on his prerogative a la Cayley, probably accounts for much that followed.[86] This type of interference by the Governor-General's Government on all direction in Ladākh, in Kashmir and in Gilgit, dampened Ranbir Singh's spirits to cooperate with the British authorities or to reform his administration as he had desired because the over-conscious servants of the British crown believed in

83. *Governor-General of India to Secy. of State*, 15 July 1881, PSLE 1/29, pp. 235-37.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Lytton to Egerton*, 2 Dec. 1879, Lytton Papers 518/4, p. 1065.

86. *Memo on the present condition of affairs in Gilgit*, Mar. 1881, *Secret and political Memo.* No. A. 18, NAI.

dictating him like a school boy. In the garb of commercial, political and territorial interests they tried to yoke him with growing tutelage and provoked him for non-cooperation with British authorities on all affairs. He took little interest in possessing tribal territories for the sole benefit of the over-bearing British politicians. He persistenly objected to any addition in the powers and functions of officers on special duty. He also continued by-passing the new arrangement of direct correspondence with the Government of India on urgent matters concerning frontiers and foreign policy. The unfounded criticism of his government of Anglo-Indian press and the confidential reports on the alleged 'mis-government' in the state by interested persons like St. John, officer on special duty in Srinagar, were meant to tarnish his name and to discredit whatever good reforms he had done in Jammu and Kashmir. There were so many Digbys and Thorps, reared to speak only at the dirt, whose only avocation of life was to create sensation by drawing a dark picture of conditions prevailing in this state. Berkley was the only lone voice to pronounce a rational view on "maladministration" in Kashmir. "So far as I have seen, things are not worse than in several native states in India—of course there are oppression and corruption. Where are they not, even in our own districts, but it strikes me that Henvey and St. John—have exaggerated matters."[87]

87. *Ripon to Kiberley*, 9 May 1884, *Ripon Papers*/1.3.290/5, Vol. Enclosure in No. 27, pp. 89-92.

CHAPTER

9

Socio-Cultural Attainments

Section A

Social Reform

Whatever excess in taxation and oppression in administration still persisted, was effectively offset by Ranbir Singh's insatiable zeal for public welfare in every sphere. This zeal found expression not only in the field of administrative and economic reform, his constant endeavours for the material and moral uplift of his people, but also in his anxiety for their social and religious uplift. The age in which he lived was not yet enlivened in India by the ideals of a welfare state, yet Ranbir Singh seems to have been swayed by such ideals. His anxiety for the well being of his people encompassed all the spheres of public life. He was a man of deep religious faith and strove hard to propagate ethical values and to eradicate social evils. He, however, did not take recourse to oppressive and compulsive measures in order to preach his ideals. On the other hand he adopted pursuassive measures. In his fervour far reform he did not interfere with the religion and customs of the non-Hindus and tried only ameliorative secular reforms inspired by humanistic sentiments. In those days philanthropic measures included the building of religious edifices, construction of inns, watering places and *dharmasālās*, digging of wells and tanks

and practising of charity, liberality and endowment. And the chief object of such acts was to ensure ones own salvation in the next world by serving the interests of others in this life.

Ranbir Singh, a pious Hindu with a strong faith in universality of religion, was swayed by this instinct of universal well being. The society all over India was steeped in superstition and evil customs, the remenants of medieval ages. Many social reformers like Raja Rām Mohan Roy, Sayyid Ahmed Khān and Swāmi Dayānand, were leading a brisk compaign in the rest of India against social evils and religious superstition and had ushered in an era of enlightenment and rationalism. In Jammu and Kashmir State it was left for this enlightened ruler to achieve what these reformers and myriads of their followers were achieving in other parts of India. The evil customs of *Sati* and female infanticide were prevalent in some classes of his subjects who had practised these since the known historical ages. Ranbir Singh prohibited these evils throughout the length and breadth of his state. In an injunction issued on 14 April, 1859 he enjoined upon his heirs and successors as also his subjects to ensure that these evils were uprooted. He not only issued prohibitive commands against these social evils but also took constructive steps in that sphere. He analysed the causes for *sati* and sought to remove these, which, according to him were the question of honour and secondly poverty or lack of resources of sustenance for the widows so that a widow was left with no scope for a normal life.[1] So she preferred to burn herself on her husband's pyre. In order to enable issueless widows "who lived a wretched life and miserably depended on others",[2] to live an honourable life, Ranbir Singh sanctioned an endowment of one lakh rupee in January 1861. Courtiers, *Shāhūkārs* and state officials were also requested to add to this donation, to the tune of 15 days salary in the case of the last category.[3] From the interest accruing from this fund provision was made for the maintenace of unprovided for widows and children. Government and private aid was also given for the marriage of poor girls.[4] By these measures Ranbir Singh sought to ameliorate the lot of the most unfortunate portion of society and to discourage *Sati* and female infanticide.

1. *File No. 215, Notification dated 3 Baisakh, S. 1916,* Persian Records, SAR (J).
2. *File No. 215, Notification, dated 23 Poh S. 1917,* Persian Records, SAR (J).
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Notification dated 2 Baisakh, S. 1916,* File No. 215, *op. cit.*

The custom of slavery had long disappeared from the soil of Jammu and the valley of Kashmir. But the Khushwaqtiā tribes of Dardistān and Gilgit had retained this evil and they used to carry raids on the adjoining territories to enslave people and sell them into slavery. On the widely prevalent custom of slavery in Gilgit Major Biddulph, British Agent in Gilgit, had to report:

"It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, of the inhabitants of Gilgit over forty years of age, nearly half have passed some portion of their lives in slavery. There is not a family of which one or more of their members have not been lost in this way.[5]

On the re-conquest of Gilgit and the adjoining tribes Ranbir Singh abolished slavery by law and strongly enforced the new regulations with the result that it "undoubtedly conferred on this part of the country an amount of prosperity and security which could not have been attained under the Khushwaktis family, in whose grasp it would otherwise have remained.[6] Freedom from liability to be sold as slaves alone outweighed the disadvantage of being ruled by one of a different faith. The result was that by a wise policy the Maharaja's rule had "become exceedingly popular, and the inhabitants contrast there present flourishing condition and immunity from slavery with the state of their neighbours and the recollection of oppression they suffered under Gauhar Amān.[7]

For the intellectual progress of his people Ranbir Singh made special provisions for their educational and literary attainment. He opened a number of schools, *pāthshālās* and *maktabs* where education was not only free, but even stipends were given to all students. Text books were provided free and private liberality was harnessed in the service of student community. He also made adequate provision for medical facilities to the people. Although he was first opposed to the western system of medicine and hence to the activities of Medical Mission, but soon he became friendly and helpful, and did not only grant a site but erected hospital buildings at state expenses.[8] In a few years as many as 39 hospitals were established throughout the state where all types of medical aid, including medicines, was given free of charge. He also got a book on health and medicine prepared by experts which was named *Ranbir Prakāsh*. This volume incorporates the best in the *Ayurvedic* and *Unāni* systems. A number of vaccination centres were also set up for the prevention of small pox.

5. *File No. 215 of S. 1916* (A.D. 1859) Persian Records, SAR (J).
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, (Persian), pp. 884-85.

The scarcity of water for all purposes was quite natural of this arid, *Kandi* region of the province of Jammu. Though there were six large tanks built in Jammu city yet the people had to face acute shortage of drinking water. Ranbir Singh therefore paid special attention to solve this problem. A plan of water-works in the Tawi river was instituted. Some water ducts (*Kūhls*) from the Ujh and the Tawi were drawn for irrigation purposes. An ambitious project of irrigational canal from the Chenāb was also instituted, which when completed was named Ranbir Canal. This canal has changed the erstwhile arid tracts of the Jammu and Ranbirsinghpurā *tehsils* into the granary of the State and has done much to better the economic lot of the people.

Ranbir Singh's measures for public welfare in the valley were more spectacular. As has been stated earlier he made earnest endeavour to solve the *shawl-bāf* problem, and to ameliorate the condition of farmers he remitted a large amount of arrears of revenue, removed oppressive taxes, introduced vine cultivation and sericulture in the valley and started a number of handicrafts and patronised the existing in order to tide over the world-wide slump which had adversely affected the industries and handicrafts in Kashmir. He started a wine-distillery and silk factory which flourished into profitable industries. Ranbir Singh's reign is thus remarkable for public welfare activities. It was in pursuance of the same policy that he remitted the marriage-tax levied on Kashmiri Muslims since the beginning of Muslim rule in the valley, for the past six hundred years. His benevolent measures envisaged even the welfare of children and boys about whom the Maharaja expressed his concern in a public proclamation.[9] It was announed that parents and guardians should send their wards for education or technical training in government institutions started for that purpose. Those who did not get benefit of these institutions and let their wards loiter about aimlessly, would make themselves liable to punishment, the proclamation laid down.

Ranbir Singh's reign is also remarkable for construction of roads and buildings for public utility, imperial grander and service of religion. A huge edifice raised in the town of Jammu, was known as Ajāib-Ghar. It was meant to receive the British Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VIII of Great Britain), when he visited India in 1876. He first of all came to Jammu and Kashmir State and stayed in this grand building for two days. Afterwards this mension was converted into a museum which housed rare pieces of Dogrā art,

9. *File No. 215*, p. 29, Persian Records, SAR(J), Command for Compulsory Multipurpose Education in Jammu and Kashmir.

garments, arms, such as guns, matchlocks, swords, shields, spears. Its eastern part housed a big library containing valuable publications and manuscripts.[10] The state Government has now carried on comprehensive adjustments and recast the entire mansion to serve as Legislatives assembly chambers. The building having a plinth area of 360 feet by 120 feet, was constructed in a record time of three months and contained "the largest room in India" equipped with "some very fine Venetian mirrors.[11] The building represented, according to a European observer, "an extreme act of loyalty on the part of the late Maharaja than whom more courtly king never set on the throne of India".[12] The wooden ceilings and walls of the entire building were cared with floral and geometric designs in very charming colours.

Incidently Maharaja Ranbir Singh was the first among the Indian Princes to be introduced to the Prince of Wales on his arrival in Calcutta on 23rd December, 1875. The Prince told the Maharaja, "I have heared much of your state, which will be the first among the Princely States I am going to visit.[13] On his return from Calcutta, the Maharaja got the first metalled road built in his territories, from Suchetgarh to the bank of the Tawi a distance of about 26 kilometres.[14]

The preparation of cart road from Jammu to Srinagar was another achievement of this citizen king who exerted all his resources for the benefit of his people. The already existing pedastrian track was widened, cut and dressed so that a horse driven cart could easily plȳ over it from Jammu to the valley. It is estimated that it cost in all rupees twenty-two thousand only. However, the road was made motorable during the reign of Maharaja Pratāp Singh.

Among the bridges constructed during his reign mention may be made of the old Rāmban bridge over the Chenāb and the bridge at Kohālā over the Jhelum, on the Srinagar-Muree, Road. A number of Dāk Bungalows for the convenience of the visitors were constructed on Kohālā-Srinagar and the Bhimber-Srinagar routes. Sheikh

10. Nargis, Diwan Narsing Dass, *Tārikh-i-Dogra Desh* (Urdu), Jammu, Jan. 1967, p. 789.

11. Jashua Duke, *Ince's Kashmir Handbook*, p. 136.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Nursing Dass Nargis writes that the work of construction of this road was entrusted to Diwān Arjan Mall Gondliā. The expenses incurred amounted to Rs. 1,002 per mile. The labour employed was paid wages at the rate of 4 annas (25 paisas) per day. The water drawn from village wells for use on road was also paid for (Tārikh-i-Dogrā Desh), *op. cit.*, p. 789.

14. *Report Majmui, Government of Jammu and Kashmir State for the year S. 1932-34*, (1975-77) p. 5.

Ghulām Ahmad Sodāgar was appointed Controller of the Dāk Bungalows.[15] Several tourists' huts in Srinagar were also constructed. These and other facilities given to the tourists to Kashmir subtantially encouraged European visitors, and the reception and hospitality extended to them went on record that from the present ruler, Maharaja Ranbir Singh "the Englishmen had received unvarying kindness and hospitality. In no country were they treated with greater or perhaps equal consideration".[16] This politeness of the Maharaja to starangers "is frequently extended not only to the living, but to the dead; for if an English officer is so unfortunate as to come to his death during his stay in the valley, this attentive prince, usually sends a shawl of price to wrap the body in before the burial".[17] No doubt this attitude of Ranbir Singh popularised the valley among European tourists and was the first step towards bringing Kashmir on the tourist map of the world.

Section B

Education

Ranbir Singh's reign was marked by the emergence of modern cultural trends, and the ruler himself was no less a factor in bringing about renaissance in this sphere in his state. He was endowed with a scholarly bent of mind which found expression in lively patronage of learning and art. His personal interest in the progress of education was not confined only to the State, but had a wider field. He donated liberally to Sanskrit institutions at Benāras, and established a big *Pāthshālā* at Kāshiji for which all expenses were borne by him. Similarly his benevolences extended to the proposed Punjab University at Lahore for which he gave a donation of one lakh of rupees, and later when the University became an established fact, "the name of His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh was entered as the First Fellow of the University of the Punjab."[18]

However, within State itself his achievements in this field were more spectacular. He took keen personal interest in the advancement of education throughout his kingdom. He established regular schools

15. *File No. 1163 of 1876, Persian Record*, SAR(J).

16. "*Letters from India and Kashmir*, Letter No. XVII dated 2nd August, 1870.

17. Wakefield, W., *The Happy Valley*, p. 37.

18. Sarvari, Prof. A. C., "Maharaja Ranbi r Singh and his Original Translation Bureau." *University Review, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1966.* p. 40.

and *pāthshālās, maktabs* and vocational classes. He also introduced vocational training to induce the wards of artisans also to take to education. In one of his proclamations he records that *madrassās* and *pāthshālās* have been established by the government in all cities and towns.[19] His concern for the education and training of boys was so great that he issued in the early years of his reign a command which amounted almost to the introduction of compulsory education in the state. He noted with regret that some people did not pay as much attention to the education of their sons as was required. He had therefore decided to establish modern schools for arts, languages and various carfts and technical sciences. He issued a strict rejoinder that as it was the formost duty of parents to give proper education to their children, so "any person whose son is found loitering about and who does not give him education in a subject or training in a craft particular or suitable to his family, he will be taken to task."[20] The acquisition of knowledge to a certain standard and fulfilment of certain moral precepts he considered necessary for adults and goverment servants for whose guidance he got the book '*Beovahār-Gitā*' (code of conduct) compiled and its study was made compulsory.[12]

He made equally great endeavours for providing the educational needs of his people by starting multi-purpose institutions and centres of learning. The steady progress of education in his reign may be judged from the figures available in some of the *Administrative Reports* issued in Urdu by his Government. According to the *Report-i-Majmui* of 1872-73, the total number of schools and *pāthshālās* in the State was 44. Of these there were 31 schools in Jammu and 13 in Kashmir. In the two capital cities there were 10 institutions with a total attendance of 1,533 students during that year. The subject-wise break-up of the scholars was : Shāstri (Sanskrit) 701, Persian 457, Dogri 250, Arabic 70 and English 55.[22]

He equally made great endeavours for providing the educational needs of his people by starting multipurpose institutions and centres of learning. Although Jammu and Kashmir had been known for educational and literary activities during the early and middle ages but educational system had suffered a death blow during the later middle centuries due to the oppressive rule of Afghāns. Those who

19. *File No. 215/29,* Command for Compulsory and Multipurpose Education, Persian Records State Archival Repository, Jammu, SAR (J).

20. *Ibid.*

21. *File No. 215/31* Notification in Persian, Persian Records, SAR(J).

22. *Report Majmui* (Urdu) *of the State of Jammu and Kashmir* for *S. 1929-30* (A.D. 1872-1873).

were interested in education continued it in their houses. It was very difficult indeed to find evidence of a single school in the valley of Kashmir in the first half of the 19th century. They seem to have been completely eliminated. The first to start again in 1868 was a State School and by the end of the 19th century we see a small sprinkling of them.[23] It was due to the fact that Ranbir Singh took personal interest in the advancement of education. He revived the old system of education on the pattern of *Madrassā* and *Pāthsālā* and also took steps to modernise education. He established a number of schools and a college each at Jammu and Srinagar on the British model and introduced the latest curriculum in the new type of educational institutions. He established the first press in the State for the printing of books. He also founded a Translation Bureau for translation of books from various languages.[24] He made equally good endeavours for providing technical education to his people by starting multipurpose institutions and training centres for teachers, *qānungos* and *patwāris* and artisans in various crafts. A School of crafts for orphans was opened in the city of Srinagar. The total number of boys admitted during the first session was 87 and the expenditure on this particular School for the first two years was Rs. 18,000.[25]

Pāthashalās (schools) for learning of sanskrit, Hindu scriptures and law, grammar, logic, science and medicine were established at Jammu and Uttarbehani on the principles of ancient *mathas* and *āshramas*. These institutions were residential and also admitted day scholars and were maintained by donation from the Maharaja, the royal family and well-to-do citizens. Education at all levels was free and all the students were given stipends in the shape of free books and free boarding and lodging. These *pāthāshālās* were part and parcel of the Raghunath temple, Ranbireshwaram temple and Gadādharji temple at Jammu and Gadādharji temple at Uttarbehani.

Another feature of Ranbir Singh's *pāthshālā* system was the admission of students of the fourth caste of Hindu society, the *Sūdras* who were admitted to the right of studying scriptures and other knowledge and sciences in the company of students of the other three higher castes. This was no less a revolutionary step taken by Maharaja Ranbir Singh who aimed at reviving the spirit of ancient

23. Sazida Zameer Ahmad, *Education Policy and Mission School Studies from the British Empire*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 152.

24. Seru, S.L., *History and Growth of Education in Jammu & Kashmir*, Ali Mohammad & Sons, p. 32.

25. *Report Majmui of the State of Jammu & Kashmir for S. 1929-30*, (A.D. 1872-73.)

social set-up of the Hindus which conceived all the four castes equal and important for the efficient organisation and existence of the society. These institutions of high and higher learning were also thrown open to scholars from the adjoining regions and from all over India.[26] Later, the modernisation of education led to the establishment of two college's one each at Jammu and Srinagar, which gave final shape to the educational policy of Ranbir Singh.

Thus we see that in every sphere of learning Ranbir Singh's reign saw great advancement and education in J & K state began to take shape on modern lines. To start with, a school was opened in every *tehsil* and *wazārat* and provision was made for higher studies in oriental languages. Books were supplied free and a number of scholarships were granted.[27] Although the financial of the State were very much limited yet we have to admit that Ranbir Singh gave a considerable boost to the educational system. The courses of study were switched over to impart education under proper University syllabi when the Punjab University was opened in 1882 A.D.

It was not enough to start schools unless a ready supply of books for students was assured. The necessitated the establishment of a printing press at Jammu in addition to the formation of a translation department to translate books from Sanskrit, English, Arabic and Persian into Hindi, Urdu, Dogri and Persian, and thus books for schools in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Logic, Astronomy, etc., were made available and printed for free distribution to all scholars studying in *pāthshālās*, *madrassās* and Government schools. The *mulki* (local) authors also lent help by writing books on Geography, History, Urdu, Hindi, Persian and Arabic. In order to give a new trend to the system of education he appears to have put official administration on a sound footing and introduced in it certain reforms on the pattern of the British Indian system in order to impart efficiency to education in the State.[28]

In the early years of his reign Ranbir Singh established some traditional institutions to which he added a number of schools with the advancing years. By 1872-73 the total number of schools in the State had gone up to 44, with 31 schools in Jammu Province and 13 in Kashmir Province. The number of city schools was 10. Education,

26. Charak, S.D.S., "Educational and Literary Activity during Ranbir Singh's Reign (1857-1885)," *Gulab Bhawan Research Series*, Vol. I, No. 1, Oct., 1979, p. 7.

27. Kaul, G.L., *A Six Milleneum Review of Kashmir*, Chronicle Publishers, Srinagar, 1967, p. 109.

28. Seru, S.L., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

however, was not so popular with the masses at that time and total enrolment that year stood at 1,553 against a total population of about 15,35,000, *i.e.*, at about 1 per cent.

The number of institutions rose in couple of years and there was a noticeable increase in the number of Scholars as well. During the year 1874-75 more schools were opened in every *tehsil* of Jammu Province and the education of Children was made the responsibility of Brahmans in villages. They were paid remuneration fixed by the village farmers. The schools thus opened were distributed *tehsil*-wise as under:

Ranbirsinghpurā, 51; Jasrota, 21; Udhampur, 8;
Riāsi, 30; Manavar, 50; Nowshera, 21;
Rāmnagar, 31.

The total number of Schools thus opened was 216. The enrolment in these schools at the end of the year 1875 was 4,210. During the same year schools were opened in Ladākh district also. There was an increase of four city School during this year and Jammu and Srinagar cities had 7 Schools each. The number of scholars rose rapidly from 1,553 in 1873 to 2,279 in 1874 and 4,210 at the end of 1875. The subjects offered in these Schools were Sanskrit, English, Persian, Arabic, Shāstri (Hindi), Dogri, Ladākhi, Math. At Srinagar a crafts school was opened by the State for orphan children in which 87 boys were admitted for the first year, and they were offered subjects like wood-carving, *rafugari*, *chikadozi*, *khirati* and *sergi*.[29]

In order to conduct inspection of these schools and to keep up their efficiency an officer was appointed in every *wazārat* headquarters who would tour round to inspect teaching in these schools.[30] Budgetary provision for 1872-73 was Rs. 36,372 which rose to Rs. 90,251 during 1973-74.

Higher Education

Although the proposal for establishing Punjab University at Lahore was considered as early as 1875 but it was started in 1882. Ranbir Singh had taken keen interests in the affair. He at once made a beginning for higher education in the State and established one Collage each at Jammu and Srinagar with 400 and 450 students on rolls respectively. These colleges were affiliated to the newly establish-

29. Seru, S.L., *op. cit.*, p. 34.
30. *Riport Majmui Riyasat Jammu-w-Kashmir*, 1874-75.

ed University of the Punjab. The courses of study included English, *Shāstri* or *Sanskrit*, vernaculars, Persian and medicine, both Ā*yurvedic* and *Unāni* systems.

English was taught upto Matriculation standard. One student was sent to take his Middle School examination in 1883 and he was declared successful. Four students were preparing to sit for the Matriculation examination of the Punjab University.

Sanskrit was taught according to the Punjab University syllabus for *Prajnya* course.

The Vernacular Department imparted education upto Middle standard and the students of this Department had acquired good knowledge of Persian also.

The Law Department taught laws in force in the State. In 1882 the students were taught the Revenue and the *Patwār* laws. In the following year all other laws were also expected to be taught. Successful students were being absorbed in the State services. During the two years, thirty successful students were given appointments.

The Ā*yurvedic* Department imparted education in Ā*yurvedic* system of medicine. They were given practical lessons in government hospitals. Four successful students of the Department were appointed as *vaids* in the *wazārats* and *tehsils*.

The *Tibbia* Department was imparting education in the *Unāni* system of medicine. They were expected to complete their course after one year and qualify themselves for appointments in the *wazārats* and *tehsils*.

The Persian Department was imparting education upto the *Munshi Fāzil* standard of the Punjab University. The successful students of this Department were appointed in various offices.[31]

The Kashmir College offered Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Law for study. The Sanskrit Department imparted education upto the *Prajnya* standard of the Punjab University.

The Persian Department attracted larger number of students than any other Department. Education was imparted upto the *Munshi Fāzil* examination of the Punjab University. The successful students of this Department found easy employment in the State service.

The Arabic Department imparted education upto the *Moulvi Ālim* Standard of the Panjab University.

The Law Department gave instructions in the various laws in

31. *Ibid.*

force in the State, as in the College at Jammu.[32]

Education was free in colleges also. In addition, all the students in both the colleges, belonging to Jammu and Kashmir State were given free ration and books, and provision was also made for scholarships to deserving students. Thus free education at all levels with provision for free boarding and ration, was one of the special features of our educational system as incepted in the State by Ranbir Singh. Another commendable feature was the vocational and the technical trend in education, and government encouraged teaching and training in those subjects, languages, crafts and professional trades in which it required its personnel to acquire proficiency and knowledge. A variety of subjects and vocations were taught in schools, and the scope of syllabi covered, not only languages like Sanskrit, Persian, English, Arabic, Urdu, Nāgri, and Dogri but also commercial subjects like Book-keeping, and crafts such as smithery, jewellery, needlework embroidery and carpentry or wood-work.[33] Books on different arts, sciences and special subjects were either translated from Sanskrit and Arabic into Persian, Hindi and Dogri, or specially written, to provide basic text book strata for schools and colleges. This increased, in addition to the educational, the literary activity to such an immensity as has never been attained by the people of the State afterwards. For this purpose he patronised scholars of all communities. This group of scholars included, besides numerous eminent teachers and experts, Fateh Singh, Hakim Fidā Muhammad Khān, Maulvi Nur-ud-Din, Pandit Ganesh and Jeotshi Bashesharjoo.[34] He took keen interest in encouraging Sanskritic studies even in the Panjab University, and gave an endowment of Rs. 30,978 to the Trustees of the Punjab University College on the 2nd March 1871 which had increased to Rs. 41,250 in 1933, and its interest provided the McLeod Kashmir Sanskrit Research Studentship of the value of Rs. 100 per month.[35] Major Charles Ellison Bates sums up multilateral achievements of Ranbir Singh's reign as under:

"Education has lately been encouraged by an annual grant of Rs. 30,000 to defray the cost of publishing translations of books teaching the European sciences and also standard works in Tanskrit and Arabic. Treatises on history, physiography, chemistry, astronomy, civil

32. *Ibid.*
33. *File No. 215/29* for S. 1916 (A.D. 1859), Persian Records, SAR(J).
34. *File No. 215/31*, op. cit.
35. *History of the University of the Punjab*, quoted by G.M.D, Sufi in *Kashir*, Vol. II, p. 791.

engineering and various branches of Mathematical sciences have been thus placed within the reach of the students. Schools for instruction in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian have been established at certain places in the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. The number of scholars attending the four schools (Utter Behni and Purmandal) in the city of Jammu is said to be about 1,100 and arrangements are now being made for teaching English."[36] "Apart from the encouragement," observes Dr. Stein, "given to these forms of literary activity, the Maharaja bestowed during the whole of his reign much thought and expense on the production of an extensive series of translations which throw an interesting light on his educational policy. Translations in Hindi of standard works, selected from the whole range of the *Puranas*, the *Dharma* and other *Sastras*, were executed, and partly printed with the object of spreading knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Maharaja's Dogrā subjects. Again, Persian and Arabic works on historical, philosophical and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of competent Maulvies in order to facilitate that exchange of ideas which the Maharaja in a spirit of true enlightenment desired to promote between the representatives of Hindu and Mohammadan scholarship in his dominions."[37]

Pāthashālās

The great *Pāthashālās* established by Ranbir Singh were also centres of higher Hindu learning. These were established at Jammu and Uttarbehni on the model of ancient *mathas* Universities. These institutions were residential and also admitted day scholars, and were maintained by donations from the Maharaja and wealthy citizens. Education of all types was free and all students were given stipends in the shape of free books and free boarding and lodgings. These *pathashālās* were part and parcel of the Raghunāth Temple and Ranbireshawarm Temple and Gadādharji at Jammu and Gadādharji Temple at Uttarbehni. Another feature of Ranbir Singh's *pāthshālās* system was the admission of the students of the fourth caste of the Hindu society—the *Sudras* who were admitted to the right of studying scriptures and other knowledges and sciences in the company of students of the other three higher castes. This was

36. Bates, C.E., *Gazetteer of Kashmir, etc.*, p. 99.
37. Stein, M.A., *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Raghunath Temple Library*, pp. V-VI.

no less a revolutionary step taken by Ranbir Singh who aimed at reviving the ancient social set up of the Hindu which conceived all the four castes equally valuable and important for the efficient organisation and existence of society. These institutions of high and higher learning were also thrown open to scholars from the adjoining regions and from all over India.

The three main centres of learning were the Raghunāthji Temple complex and Ranbireshwarji Temple at Jammu and Gadādharji Temple complex at Uttarbehni. Later on Gadādharji Temple at Jammu was also added.

In these great *pāthshālās* as many as 2100 boarder scholars were admitted, 600 in Jammu *pāthshālās* and 1500 in Uttarbehni University. Out of a total of 2100 scholars, 575 were taken from the Punjab, 700 from Trans-Sutlej territory and from *Hindustān*, and 725 from amongst indigenous Dogrās and Kashmiris. About 100 ascetics or *sadhus* were also enrolled as scholars for higher learning in *pāthshālās* at Jammu. Thus the composite and universal character of these institutions is quite evident, and the institution at Uttarbehni, with its strength of 1500 scholars was very much organised on the lines of a University.

All these 2100 resident scholars were admitted on behalf of His Highness, i.e., all their expenses for education were borne by Maharaja Ranbir Singh. In addition to these, there were scholars admitted whose expenses were borne either by parents or by benevolent persons. Thus there was considerably large number of scholars, exceeding a thousand, in each of these *pāthshālās*, which probably echoed with humming of *brahmachāris* and *gurus*, like the big *mathas* of the classical age. Throwing these institutions open to all classes of people Ranbir Singh laid down that "there should be no restriction of caste in the *shalas* of the *sarkar*. All the four *varns* and Hindu ascetics should be allowed to read, on behalf of others *brahmans* may be taught."[38]

However, no Dogrā *parahwala brahman* child was to be imparted instruction at all; nor was he to be admitted to the *shālā*.[39]

To keep students active in learning and to enable them to come up to the standard a comprehensive system of periodical check up and examinations was framed. Examinations were held in the following manner:

38. *Ain-i-Dharmarth Trust for Jammu and Kashmir*, (Eng. trans.), p. 77.
39. *Ibid.*

(*a*) Monthly—at the end of each month all the *adhiyāpaks* and *adhishtātās* gathered together and examined scholars. At the end of each such test to each scholar was given a certificate showing as to how he has stood in the examination.

(*b*) Half-yearly examination was conducted in the presence of the members of the "Council". If a scholar wished to commence a new book, he was first examined in the book already finished by him.

(*c*) Annual examinations were conducted at the Raghunāth Temple complex, Jammu and list of examinees, recommended by teachers as candidates, was framed out of which a group of 25 was examined every day on the date given to each group of students in advance. Examinations commenced on the *Rām Naumi* day in the month of *Chet*. The scholars were expected to attend regularly on the dates fixed for their examination. These examinations were conducted by a Board of examiners composed of *adhiyāpāks* of Utterbehni and Raghunathji Temple, *adhishtātās* of both the places, a member of *Dharmarth* Council and one the *musāhibs* of the *hākim-i-ālā* (the Governor of Jammu).[40]

The regulations made the *adhiyāpak* responsible for and shortcoming of the scholar in reading.[41] At the time of paying stipends to the scholars a declaration in writing had to be taken from the teacher to the effect "that he has read so much in this month, and if, at the time of examination he should not prove such as declared by me, I shall refund the stipend of the scholar."[42] Thus it was responsibility of the teacher to point out deficiences of his students from time to time. If a scholar proved unfit for study after a trial of six months he was turned out from the *pāthshālā*. If a teacher had not disclosed the unfitness of a scholar, he had to pay the expenses that might have been incurred in teaching such a scholar.[43] If any scholar from the list of annual examinaton prepared by the teachers did not appear, the expenses were recovered from the pay of the teachers concerned and from the said scholar.

To improve the quality of teaching and to leaven student's learning activity with conscious effort and perseverence, much emphasis was

40. *Ain-i-Dharmarth, op. cit.*, p. 37.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
43. *Ibid.*

laid on frequent revisions of previous learning and on periodic seminars and group discussions. Every Wednesday of the week was set apart for the scholars to revise old reading and to commit them to memory. For the rest of the week they were given new lessons. Similary, the 8th and 14th days of the lunar fortnight and the *amawasya* and the full moon day were fixed for the revision work. A meeting of scholars was held every day in the evening in the temples of Shri Gadādharji, Shri Amukteshwarji and in the new temples[44] where they read and held discussions up to 4 *gharis* (1 hour 36 minutes) past night.[45] They also recited *paths* and heard *kathās* (recitations from sacred books).

Every six months on the day of *Rāmanaumi* in the month of *Chet*, and after the *Dussehrā*, during the month of *Assuj* or *Katak*, *Shastararths* (seminars on *shastaras*) were held among the scholars at Jammu Temple.[46]

At the end of each course degrees and medals were awarded to the successful and deserving students after the examination under the seals of Shri *Raghunāthji* and the signatures of the members of the examining board. The monthly report of students were also checked and the progress reports of students were sent to their guardians and patrons.

It seems that there were seven courses of the whole syllabi which had to be mastered by a student during his full tenure of education. At the end of each course successful candidates were given rewards as under :

1st Course	Rs. 7-4	(new coins)
2nd ,,	Rs. 33-10	
3rd ,,	Rs. 45- 4	
4th ,,	Rs. 45-14	
5th ,,	Rs. 65-00	
6th ,,	Rs. 99-00	
7th ,,	Rs. 200-00	

In addition to these usual rewards, seven kinds of medals of different value were given to the outstanding and talented scholars on the basis of merit in each course. The value of various medals was Rs. 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 150 and 200. The medals were prepared for each individual separately and on one side it carried the portraits of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and on the other the name of

44. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
46. *Ibid.*

the student and the degree obtained by him.

Schools were closed for vacations in the month of *Sāwan* every year. For the period of vacation stipends were not given. However, if a scholar would not enjoy vacations, but remained engaged in studies, he got stipend as usual

Every *ekam* or the first of Hindi fortnight and every *ashtami* or the eighth of a fortnight was holiday. This gave 4 holidays every month. In addition, 23 other holidays on festivals and important Hindu days, such as *Rāmnaumi, baisākhi, nirjalā ekādashi, Bīās Pujā, rakhri, janam ashtami, bhaiduj, devāli, lohri, māghi,* were celebrated. This gave a total of 71 holidays in a year.

The syllabi taught in these *Pāthshālās* were comprehensive and included all types of Indological and modern studies. In this respect these institutions of the period of Ranbir Singh remarkably differed from the traditional *pāthshālās.* In addition to the four Vedas, *Vyakaran* (Grammar) and *Shāstras,* the subjects taught included Mathematical science, Medical science, Astrology, Demonstrative sience and Occult Science.[47] Both the *mimasas* (system of Philosophy) *Nyāy* (logic) *Sānkh* and *Yog, Vedānt, Dharam Shāstras* and *Mantar Shāstra, Jyotish* and *Chikista* were included in the Shāstric studies.[48]

A number of teachers, specialists in each study, were appointed on good salaries. Students had to study each subject of their respective courses with the teacher specialising in the respective subjects. Teachers were placed in five grades according to which their salaries were fixed in 1847 as under:

First grade, Rs. 100 per month; second grade, Rs. 50; third grade, Rs. 30; fourth grade, Rs. 20 and fifth grade Rs. 10.[49] Later on, these grades were reduced to only four in Maharaja Ranbir Singh's time and salaries for each grade was refixed-I grade, Rs. 100; II Grade, Rs. 80; III Grade, Rs. 60; and IV Grade, Rs. 30. For every fifty students under a teacher, an assistant was provided who was given Rs. 10.[50] A *pandit* well versed in two or three *shāstrās* was given the pay of the first grade, provided he imparted education in two or three *shāstras.*

A special feature of service in these institutions was the teacher's ability to translate. A part of the salary in each grade was fixed as

47. *Ain-i-Dharmarth* (Eng. trans.), *op. cit.*, p. 31.

48. A number of text books were prescribed on each of these subjects according to the standard of each of the seven courses taught in the *Pāthshālās.*

49. *Ain-i-Dharmarth* (Eng. trans.) *op. cit.*, p. 36.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

remuneration for translation work, which was a permanent feature. Evey book that was selected by the Maharaja for translation, was translated by the teachers; a separate reward was also given for outstanding translation work.[51] Some official reports in Persian records, speak of translation of the Buddhist books *Tanjor and Ganjor*, from *Bodhi* into *Sanskrit* being conducted by students of Leh *pāthshālā*.[52]

Students admitted in these *pāthshālās* from outside the State formed a considerable number. Out of a 100 students, some 20 were from India and other places, and 30 Punjabis, in addition to 10 ascetics. Most of the students were given stipends by Maharaja Ranbir Singh, whereas the remaining got monetary help either from some patrons or from their parents. A large number of them were provided boarding and lodging in the temples where they studied. For that purpose spacious campuses of temples had hundreds of rooms built along their outer walls, which still exist in delapidated condition. Students belonging to Jammu town and Uttarbehni, and those coming from surrounding villages who could reach their homes every day by night, were admitted as day scholars. Boarders were given stipends in the form of cooked rations and kind. They were given cash only for performing *pathas*, at the rate of one pice for two *pathas* of *Vishnu Shahasarnam*, one in the morning and the other in the evening. By this money students could purchase articles of stationery from the shop run for the purpose in the temple premises. Books, however, were given to them free by the State Government. On certain festive occasions also students were given feasts or donations and *dakshna* in cash by the members of the royal family or other wealthy and religious-minded people. For any *dakshana* or donation given to a student, his teacher received the double amount.

Strict discipline was imposed among the scholars. For repeated long absence from classes, a scholar was removed from the rolls. If any scholar was found guilty of drinking, adultry, gambling or any other kind of immorality, he was not only dismissed from the *pāthshālās*, but was also dealt with according to law as laid down in the *Ranbir Dand Bidhi*. The Code of Law, i.e., the *Ranbir Dand Bidhi* was read out to the scholars as well as teachers from time to time. A written declaration was taken from every one, so that they may abide by them. The scholars of *brahman*, *kshatriya* and *vaish* castes were made to perform *sandhiya* three times daily and to tell one rosary of the *Mahā Gāyatri* hymn. The scholars of *Shudra* caste were to

51. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
52. *File No. 215*, Persian Records, SAR(J).

perform *Vishnu Sahasarnām pāth* and the *sandhiya*. On all festivals the scholars were required to assemble in their respective temples and join in the *puja*.

Hours of attendance of scholars of the *shālā* (school) was as follows :

In the summer season commencing *Chet* ending *Katik*—1st meeting 8 A.M. to 12 noon; 2nd meeting, 3 P.M. till evening.

By the close of the reign of Ranbir Singh a general and liberal type of education seems to have become more popular and convential education had a few votaries. During 1882 and 1883 only two *pāthshālās* existed, the one at the Raghunāthji Temple Jammu, and the other at Uttar Behni. Only two hundred students have been recorded at Jammu during these years.[53] The subjects taught at both the places now offered limited choice. The four *Vedas*, Grammar, *Kāvya Shāstra* and *Nyāy* were taught with an additional class in *Mimānsā* at the great *pāthshālā* of Uttar Behni. In both these *pāthshālā* students continued coming from far and wide.

Some *madrasās*, *maktabs* and *pāthshālās* had also been established in Kashmir. The famous orientalist, George Buhler, mentions his visit to one such institution in Kashmir, and notes with satisfaction that Maharaja Ranbir Singh was good enough to take him to the *madrassā* (school) and to allow him to examine some of the students in his presence . . . . He further informs that this *madrassā* was the chief educational institution in Kashmir and contained, besides a Sanskrit College where poetry, poetics, grammar and philosophy were studied, Persian classes and school of industry. Mathematics was also taught, according to a Dogra translation of "*the Lilavati.*"[54] Buhler "examined several classes in Sanskrit, Euclid and Algebra and most of the boys did very fairly."[55] He was very much impressed by "the active manner" in which Ranbir Singh took part in the examination, which showed that he was well acquainted with the subjects taught and that he took a real interest in the work of *education.*"[56]

53. *File No. 215*, Persian Records, SAR(J).
54. *Ibid.*
55. Buhler, George, "*Report of Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kashmir and Rajputana, Central India*", p. 4. (1877).
56. *Ibid.*

Section C

Literary Activity and Literature

The brisk literary activity during Ranbir Singh's reign received life and vigour from his personal interest and care about this aspect of the cultural life of the people of the State. Thousands of rare manuscripts in different languages were constanlty and perseveringly sought after and collected, purchased or copied were not available for sale. Dr. Karan Singh has rightly observed that the manuscripts in this library containt works not only in Sanskrit but also in Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Ladākhi, Dogri, Telugu and the Shārda script, thus well reflecting the unique diversity of our cultural heritage." Thus an unceasing hectic activity seems to have been going on for about three decades—crowds of scholars and researchers radiating to various centres of learning throughout the length and breadth of the country procuring manuscripts and preparing lists bearing information on them; teams of copyists copying MSS of various scripts for Ranbir Singh's library, and galaxies of linguists translating from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Bodhi and other languages into Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Persian and Dogri those works which were found to be of immense use to the public and which could from part of courses of study in various arts, sciences and crafts taught in schools, colleges, *pāthshālā* and *madrassās*. By Ranbir Singh's personal magnetism the literary centres at Jammu, Srinagar, Uttar Behni and Purmandal seemed to have imbibed once again the great tradition of Taxila and Nālandā, Vikramasilā and Ujjain.

This multifarious literary activity was scientifically carried out under Ranbir Singh's direct supervision. It involved the composite processes of search, selection and collection of useful MSS. MSS not available by sale or otherwise, had to be copied and copies authenticated and corrected. Then the selected ones were to be translated and, finally printed. The completion of all this in the record time can be called a great achievement in the literary history of our country and Ranbir Singh can be said to have vied successfully with Akbar in this field. Like Akbar he gathered around him a team of eminent scholars and linguists. The names of important literatures were: Pandit Ganesh Kaul Shāstri, Bābu Nilāmbar Mukerji, Dr. Bakshi Rām, Dr. Surajbal, Pandit Sāhib Rām, Pandit Himat Rām Rāzdan, Mirzā, Akbar Beg, Hakim Waliullāh Shāh Lahauri, Sayyid Ghulām Jilāni, Maulavi Nasir-ud-Din, Maulavi Ghulām Hussain Tabib of Lucknow, Maulavi Qaladar 'Ali Pānipāti, Maulavi Abdullāh

Mujtahid-ul-Asr, Hāfiz Hājji Hakim Nur-ud-Din Qadiāni, Bābū Nasrullāh Isāi. They were the ornaments of the literary *darbār* of Maharaja Ranbir Singh.[57] To this list can be added more names, including Diwān Kirpā Rām who was "his Abdul-Fazl,"[58] Pandit Ishar Kaul[59] who was probably incharge of the section concerning translation of Persian books and Pandit Jagdhar who was incharge of the compilation of commentaries the *Vedas, Purānas, ganit shāstras, kāvya nātaks, kosh, chakitsā*, etc. to be rendered in *Bhāshā*.

The history of the collection of Manuscripts and their translations and printing is closely bound up with that of the stately cluster of temples, known as the Raghunāth Mandir, which is the most conspicuous objection the picturesque slopes of Jammu Town and first attracts the eye of the visitor when approaching this centre of Dogrā culture from the plain. Both this temple and the library contained in it own their origin to Ranbir Singh. "Soon after his accession to the throne, in the year 1857, Maharaja Ranbir Singh consecrated a shrine to the worship of Rāma or Raghunātha, from whom, according to Dogrā tradition, the house of the Jammu Rajas claims descent. By the pious zeal of the Maharaja this shrine gradually became the centre of extensive religious establishments. Besides surrounding it with a cluster of other temples, the Maharaja provided rich endowments for the founding and assistance of such religious institutions as the *Dharma Shastra* recommends, to be established in connection with temple buildings. Among these institutions a *pāthshālā* or college, and a library of Sanskrit works are the foremost objects of Maharaja's care.[60]

"The rich stores of Sanskrit Literature, preserved by the Pandits of Kashmir, had at an early date attracted the Maharaja's attention. Extensive operations were begun about 1861 under his orders by Pandit Rājakāka, son of Pandit Birbaladhara, the representative of a distinguished Pandit faimly of Srinagar, for the purpose of obtaining copies of all Kashmirian Sanskrit works not current in India proper. It may be taken as certain that in the case of most of these works the purchase of original Kashmirian manuscripts could have been effected with equal facility. But as these originals, on account of the Sāradā character used in them, would have been practically sealed to the

57. Sufi G.M.D., *Kashir*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1974, p. 802.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ain-i-Dharmarth*, Eng. Trans., p. 60.
60. Stein, M.A. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, 1902*, pp. ii-iii.

Jammu scholars, preference was naturally given to new Devanāgri transcripts...In Jammu too, a permanent staff of copyists was employed under the superintendence of Pandit Asananda (1876) and subsequently of Pandit Jagadhara, in copying rare works which had been brought to the notice of the Maharaja by visitors and others, but could not be secured by purchase. Other works of this kind were copied from time to time at Benāras, either by specially engaged copyists or by the pupils maintained at the Sanskrit Pathshala which Maharaja Ranbir Singh had founded and employed there.[61]

The manuscript collection at the Raghunath Temple comprising more than six thousand manuscripts is a very important collection and contains many valuable copies of works known only through names or citations.[62] The discovery of no other Indian manuscript can claim so much interest as the unique birch-bark manuscript of the Kashmirian *Atharva-Veda*. This manuscript of 287 leaves, written in *Sārdā* character on both sides of about 20×25 cms. in size, was discovered by Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The great German Orientalist Prof. Rudolf Von Ruth was led in 1856 by a remark of the traveller Baron Von Hugel[63] to the belief that a new version of the *Atharva Veda* might be found in Kashmir. Hugel had remarked that "the Brahmins of Kashmir belonged to the Atterwan, or as they said Atterman-Veda," and taking a hint from this statement Professor Rudolf induced the authorities of the British Government of India to "institute a search in the inaccessible paradise in the hope of finding a new version of the Atharva Veda." His conjecture came true. In the year 1875, Maharaja Ranbir Singh found out the precious manuscript which he sent to Sir William Muir, then Governor of the North-West Province by whom it was in turn despatched to Prof. Rudolf. The learned Professor published a stirring account of the discovery, character and contents in his famous tract "Der Atharva Veds in Kashmir." (Tubingen, 1875). On the death of Prof. Rudolf Von Roth in 1895 the manuscript passed into the possession of the University Library of Tubingen, whose greatest and priceless treasure it forms.[64] Afterwards, Prof. Maurice Bloomfield of the John Hopkins University, Baltimore published a photographic facsimile of the entire

61. *Ibid.*, pp, iv-v.

62. Patkar, Dr. M.M. *Catalogue.*

63. Baron Charles Hugel, a German traveller, travelled through Jammu in 1835 and 1836. The account which he left has been translated into English by Major T.B. Jervis, which was published from London in 1844 under the title: "*Travels in Kashmir and Punjab*".

64. *File No. 40 of 1889*, Old Eng. Records, SAR (J), pp. 20,25,26,29.

manuscript. According to Prof. Bloomfield, "The ancient glory of India radiated new light from the leaves of this unique manuscript," and according to M.A. Stein it "served to spread only still further the well-merited fame of Ranbir Singh as an enlightened patron of scince.[65]

Apart from this rare copy of *Atharvaveda*, the collection has a large number of manuscripts of the *Samhitas* and *Brahmanas*, mostly belonging to the *Sruti* portion of the *Vedas*. The fact that a comparatively large number of the manuscripts are of old date lends the collection additional value. The oldest manuscript in the whole collection is on Vedic rituals, entitted *Sankhyanagrihya-sutrasamgreha* by Vasudeva, and dated S. 1426 (A.D. 1369). "Under this head," remarks Stein, "there is a considerable collection of manuscripts which contain either the original *Kalpas* of individual schools and the exegetical texts connected with them or independent treatises or manuals on particular ceremonies." Among the texts connected with Samaveda, there is a copy of the rare *Prapathakars* i. and ii. of the *Chhandyoga Brahmana*, and a manuscript of Pritikara's commentary called *Samadarpana* on the two principal song books of the *Samaveda*, the *Udagana* and *Uhyagana*. There is also one of the two known and complete copies of Kesava's valuable *Padhati* to the *Kasikagrihasutra* of the *Atharvaveda*. Among *Upanishada* manuscripts mention may be made of Narayana's commentary called *Dipika*, to no less than 49 *Upanishadas*.

However, the *Dharmashastra* section contains the largest proportion of the manuscripts, amounting to some 642, which fact Dr. Stein ascribes to Ranbir Singh's well-known predilection for the study of *Dharma*. Among these manuscripts there is a new commentary on the *Manusamhita* called *Sukhbodini* by Manirama Dikshita. In the *Nyaya* section, there is a rare commentary on *Tarkasamgraha* called *Prabha* by Hanumat son of Vyasa. The *Mahatamya* section contains 28 manuscripts on the sacred springs of Kashmir. Ranbir Singh had commissioned Pandit Sahib Ram to prepare a descriptive survey of all the ancient *tirthas* of Kashmir. He was provided with a number of assistants but this comprehensive project was never completed. But Pandit Sahib Ram left behind abstracts of the information he had collected under the title *Kashmira-tirtha-Samgraha*, giving a list of numerous *tirthas* with brief indications of their special features and position arranged in topographical order of parganas.[66]

65. Stein, M.A., *Catalogue*, p. viii.
66. Stein, M.A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 384.

There is an interesting manuscript relating to *Mala-vidya*, selection and training of wrestlers. In the *Nataka* section possesses a new drama in five acts, the *Prabhavatipradyumna* by Ramakrishna which treats the love story of Krishna's son Pradyumna.

A detailed scrutiny of a large number of manuscripts by experts still awaits and some more interesting and rare copies may come to light on microscopic examination of the collection

But Ranbir Singh was not a vainglorious biblophil. He was a bookseeker with a sublime purpose—that of enlightening his people by importing the knowledge of these books on religion, sciences, philosophy, logic, linguistics and crafts by making these available to them in translations in languages and vernaculars inteligible to them. His greatest service to the nation was the institution, of translators through which he tried to enrich the languages spoken and understood in the State and the classical language Sanskrit by getting books on Oriental learning and modern sciences and crafts translated into them from Asian and European languages.[67] A large personnel was employed for the purpose and an elaborate system had been worked out. About a hundred men were proposed to be appointed for translation and compilation work—40 from Srinagar, 40 from Jammu and 20 from out side.[68] Their pay ranged between ten rupees to fifty rupees per month, and 50 of them were stationed at Srinagar and 50 at Jammu.[69] Some were appointed on monthly pay and some on work charge system;[70] in the later case remuneration was fixed by number of *slokas* (verses) to be translated.[71] Those who possessed the capacity of translating from Arabic, Persian and other languages into Sanskrit were given extra remuneration of Rs. 1 to 3 in addition to their pay.[72] Higher remuneration was paid for translation of a *Veda* or from one foreign language into another.[73] However, lesser remuneration was paid for rendering the *Shāstras* from Sanskrit into *Bhāshā*.

Most of the teachers in *pāthshālās* were required to translate books from Sanskrit into vernaculars and a part of their

67. Sarvari, Professor A. Q., "Maharaja Ranbir Singh and His Oriental Translation Bureau,"—*University Review*, The University of Jammu and Kashmir Division, Srinagar, Vol. VIII, No. 3, June 1966, p. 43.
68. *Ain-i-Dharmarth, op. cit.*, p. 60.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

monthly salaries, ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 was for translation work.[74] In some cases even students were associated with translation work as was done in *pāthshālā* at Leh. All translations were thoroughly checked and copyists having a good handwriting were required to prepare manuscripts of translations. Compilers, correctors and copyists were also appointed in large numbers. Most of the employees capable of undertaking translation work were induced to do so on extra remuneration and several facilities were offered to them. They could do translation work at their own house and it was specifically laid down that. "If any one already employed in some other department desires to do translation work after performing his own duties, he should also be allowed to do it.[75]

Dr. Aurel Stein concludes that translation into Hindi of standard works selected from the whole range of *darshanas*, the *dharma* and other *shāstras* were executed and partly printed with the object of spreading knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Maharaja's Dogrā subjects.[76] Various subjects for use in the schools of the State like geology and physics were also dealt with.[77] But actually the object and scope of the project was much wider and more comprehensive. The data now available reveals that in addition to inter-oriental language translations, the rendering of modern subjects like physics, mathematics, engineering, medicine and other scientific subjects and useful arts into the languages spoken in the State, was an integral part of the translation policy of the institution. But what actually remains now of the work done by the institution, is only a fragment and consists of a few volumes on engineering, a volume or two on useful arts like paper-making, cookery, etc.[78] These volumes are in manuscript form and are preserved in the Research Library at Srinagar called "the Ranbir Collection." However, a big collection of about 700 manuscripts, some of them also in printed form, was preserved in the Sri Ranbir Singh Public Library, Jammu, which has recently been removed and added to the collections of the Research Library an Srinagar. Apart from these translations, there are a number of original works written or compiled by the institution which are now a part of above collection. A close inspection of the collection shows that some books

74. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
76. Stein, M. A. *Catalogue, op. cit.*, p. iii.
77. Kaul, Pandit G. L., *Kashmir Through Ages*, p. 141.
78. Sarvari, Prof. A. Q., *op. cit.*, p. 45.

have been translated into Urdu, Hindi or Dogri and there are quite a good number which have been translated into more than one languages. More attention has been paid to the medical sciences, but some other modern and useful subjects have not been neglected. The largest number, however, deals with diseases and cures such as etiology, anatomy, materia medica, house-wifery, paediatrics, etc. There are a couple of manuscripts each on cookery, paper-making, logic, military science, travels, products and animals of Ladākh and lives of Hindu saints and Muslim prophets. As is expected the number of manuscripts in Sanskrit on classical learning is large indeed in the collections of the Research Library, Srinagar and the Raghunāth Temple Library, Jammu.

Sanskrit religious texts like *Mahābhārata*, *Bhgawat Gitā*, and *Upanishadas* were got translated into Persian. A full text of *Shrimad Bhāgwat* (12 parts) was translated by Pandit Nārain Joo into Persian in 1868 and the manuscript is in the possession of the State Academy of Art, Culture and Languages.[79] The Persian poet Saadi's famous book *Gulistān* was got caligraphed in original with its transliteration in Devnāgri script and translation in Hindi. *Wāmaq-O-Azrā*, a versified love romance by Maulānā Sheikh Mohammad Yākub Sarfi Kāshmiri, is a fine piece in the Maharaja's collection. The manuscript has a beautiful painting of the two lovers immortalised in the poem, done by a Jammu painter and is a fine sypecimen of the Dogrā art of the time.

However, among translated works, those on medical science are numerous, including three on *materia medica* translated from English into Urdu. One of these is a voluminous work running into three parts.[80] In these translations English terms have generally been retained with their explanations in Urdu and their equivalents in Persian.

Ilāj-ul-Amrāz[81] which deals with the treatment of diseases is in Urdu and Dogri both and is a compilation based on English works, executed under the supervision of Hakim Fazl Din of Siālkot, who is also the compiler of the Urdu section. The preface shows that the help of Dr. Mirzā Amirullāh Beg was also sought in the compilation. The translator in Dogri is by Basant Rāi. The work was completed during the years 1869 and 1870. Basant Rāi was also the translator

79. Sarvari, Prof. Abdul Qadir, *Kashmir Mein Farsi Adab Ki Twarikh* (Urdu), Srinagar, pp. 248, 260, 270.

80. *MS. No.* 413, RDL (S).

81. *MS. No.* 196, RDL (S).

of *Asbāb-ul-Amrāz-wal-Ilājāt*[82] in Dogri, the Urdu translation being done by his father, Bholā Nāth and both the translations included in one volume were completed in 1885. In the preface the author informs that the work was done by the orders of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who "is inclined day and night towards the progress of rare sciences and unique arts and the well being of his subjects, consequently, the arts and sciences have made such progress today as had never been dreamt of in bygone days.[83] The author further states that previously he had, under the orders of Maharaja rendered into Urdu, *Quānūn, Tashrih-Asbāb, Nafisi, Sadidi*, and *Tibbi-i-Akbar*, etc. A translation of the work was done in Potohāri Bhāshā in 1869-70.

Sharh-i-Asbāb[84] detailing the causes of diseases has also been done in Urdu from the Persian work of the same title by Majib-ud-Din Samarquandi. This work was also undertook under the orders of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The translator refers to the Maharaja's love of learning in the preface as under, "his generosity and bountifulness and his large heartedness and above all. great desire for the progress of learning and perfection is known throughout the world."[85]

On the knowledge of the diseases, on etiology and on mid-wifery also a few books were translated. These were translations of English works both in Urdu and Devnāgri script and their titles are *Ilm-ul-Amrāz*,[86] *Asbāb-ul-Amrāz*,[87] *Dastūr-i-Qābilā*.[88] There is another book in Urdu and Devnāgari *lipi*, which bears the Englsh title *Anatmoy*.[89] On Anatomy there is another manuscript both in Urdu and the Devnāgri script entitled *Tashrih-ul-Badan*,[90] which was completed in 1868. *Amrāz-us-Sibiyan*,[91] is an Urdu translation of some English book on paedriatics and another manuscript entitled *Hidāyat-i-Paidāish-i-Bachāhā*[92] embody instructions regarding childbirth. Both these are in Urdu and Devnāgri scripts and are translated from the English originals.

82. *MS. No.* 398, RDL (S).
83. Sarvari, Prof. A. Q., *op. cit.*, on page 47.
84. *MS. No.* 447, RDL (S).
85. Sarvari, Prof. A. Q., *op. cit.* p. 48.
86. *MS. No.* 200, RDL (S).
87. *MS. No.* 196, RDL (S).
88. *MS. No.* 194, RDL (S).
89. *MS. No.* 458, RDL (S).
90. *MS. No.* 198, RDL (S).
91. *MS. No.* 236, RDL (S).
92. *MS. No.* 446, RDL (S).

Among the other subjects which received attention of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, one was the military science concerning which there are a few manuscripts in the collection. *Risālā-i-Morchā-bandi*,[93] a treatise on military engineering, translated by Pandit Bakhshi Rām into Urdu from English, was completed on 8th August, 1868. The translator uses technical English terms freely and explains them in simple Urdu. *Ilm-i-Teer Andāzi*,[94] dealing with the science of archery, was another treatise on military science, which was compiled by Ghulām Ghouse Khān, tutor of Mian Pratap Singh, under orders of Ranbir Singh.

Among manuscripts with multi-lingual translations, one is *Kitāb-i-Kubrā-dar Ilm-i-Mantiq*,[95] of a Persian treatise on logic of the same title, in Sanskrit, Urdu and Hindi. The translation is given line by line on every page, first the Persian original, its Sanskrit translation and then the Urdu and Hindi translations which are permeated with the Punjābi and Dogri words and usages.[96] A manuscript of the *Bhagvata Gitā* on similar pattern is in the Raghunāth Temple collection. The original slokas in Sanskrit are given in second column, its Hindi translation by Raja Jai Singh in first column, Persian translation by Faizi in the third, whereas its *Mahatmaya* explained in Urdu is given in the fourth column.

A useful travellogue by *Sardār Mehtā* Sher Singh, with the title "*Safar Namāh-Sher Singh*"[97] is an original compilation in Urdu and was completed in 1868. The *Sardār* started from Srinagar and visited Hazārā, Peshāwar, Kābul, Balkh, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Tāshqand, Khuqand, Kāshghar, Yārkand, Ladākh and adjoining territories. He travelled for about seventeen months and came back on 12th Katak. 1924 (14th October, 1867) and submitted a detailed account of the journey to the Maharaja on 1st February 1868. The travel was probably actuated by political motives, and hence this manuscript bears much importance. Another manuscript bearing information on the products and fauna of Ladākh is the official account entitled *Paidāwār-wa-Jānwarān-e-Ladākh*.[98] A similar manuscript bearing general information on Kashmir is *Tārikh-i-Rahnumā Kashmir*,[99] an Urdu translation of Irce's Hand-book on

93. *MS. No.* 438, RDL (S).
94. *MS. No.* 435, RDL (S).
95. *MS. No.* 426, RDL (S).
96. Sarvari, Prof. A. Q., *op. cit.*, p. 51.
97. *MS. No.* 462, RDL (S).
98. *MS. No.* 434, RDL (S).
99. *MS. No.* 433, RDL (S).

Kashmir completed in 1874.

Two biographical attempts are the *Zikar-i-Auliā-i-Hunūd*,[100] an Urdu translation of *Bhakt Mālā* by Nābhā Das, and *Zikr-i-Hālāt-i-Ambiyā*,[101] giving an account of Muslim prophets.

The culinary art was also not neglected and a manuscript entitled *Rāhnumā-Rasu'yān*[102] was written on preparation of Indian dishes. A manuscript on paper-making craft is also available in the collection. It is entitled *Risālā-i-Kāghaz Sāzi*[103] and seems to be a translation of some English work. The designs of the machinery used in making paper are also given.

The tradition of writing chronicles in Persian was also maintained by *Diwān* Kirpā Rām, one of the great literary luminaries of the time and the Prime Minister of the State who wrote two voluminous works, the *Gulābnāmā* and the *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*. The former work, published in 1876 is a biography of Maharaja Gulāb Singh, a great Asian soldier-politician, written in a conventional Persian diction which is highly literary,[104] like that of Abdul Fazl. The *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*, a volume spreading over 516 large size pages, is both a history and economic geography of Kashmir. Besides being a concise history of Kashmir from its origin to the date of writing, it is a compendium of useful information about trade and commerce, arts and crafts, flora and agricultural products of the Kashmir Valley. The book was printed at Lahore in 1870. The *Diwān* is also credited to be the author of two other pamphlets in Persian on religion, the one entitled *Madinat-al-Tahqiq* in defence of certain Hindu practices criticised by Muslims, printed at Sialkot in 1877,[105] and the other the *Radd-i-Islām* or Refutation of Islam.[106] The *Diwān* was "a man of considerable intelligence, and ambitious of earning a good administrative repute for his master's government."[107] Because of his literary attainments and secretarial efficiency he has been considered Abul Fazal of Ranbir Singh's court by Dr. G.M.D. Sufi.[108]

100. *MS. No.* 456, RDL (S).
101. *MS. No.* 437, RDL (S).
102. *MS. No.* 455, RDL (S).
103. *MS. No.* 444, RDL (S).
104. For a full discussion on *Gulābnāmā*, refer to the Introduction to the author's work '*Gulābnāmā of Diwan Kirpa Ram*', New Delhi, 1977.
105. Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 686.
106. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, Vol. II, p. 803.
107. Temple Richard, *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*. Vol. II, p. 114.
108. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, Vol. II, p. 802.

The literary activity of Ranbir Singh's reign was further enriched by Dogrā cultural rennaissance in the shape of reform in the Dogri script and the revival and popularisation of this script and Dogri literature. Dogri script and language, usually called *Tākri* was in vogue at least from the days of Amir Khusrau who mentions Dogri among languages spoken during the fourteenth century. Dogri script also seems to have been popular during the later middle ages and its use on numerous *Pahāri* miniatures from fifteenth century and the inter-State correspondence between the Dogra Rajas of Jammu-Chambā-Kāngrā belt was extensive indeed during the eighteenth century. It was during this period that Dogrā rulers shook off the yoke of Mughal rule when they were more likely to use Persian. But as soon as they became autonomous they introduced the use of their own language and script which probably had rich antecedents. The script used was, however, quite imperfect. People of Chambā and other states conducted reforms in script and put it on the lines of Nāgari.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who realised the importance of Dogri as a mass media of dissemination of knowledge of education, gave the language official status by recognising it as court language on equal status with Persian. He probably aimed at replacing Persian by Dogri in all spheres of public and private life in Jammu region and retained Persian for Kashmir region. Most of the official notifications and technical publications were bi-lingual using Dogri side by side with the Persian version. Even some of the Sanskrit texts were transcribed in Dogri script instead of Devnāgri.

But in its old form the Dogri alphabet was imperfect and for want of proper vowel signs, was not easy to read either accurately or quickly. For this reason the Maharaja caused to be invented a modification of it, by this it was brought nearer to Devnāgri, so near the system is quite one with that though the forms are somewhat different.[109] As a result of these reforms the script became fit for wider official use and for the purpose of litho and typo printing which was extensively done afterwards for preparing books for official use and school studies.

In order to popularise Dogri and to teach its standardised from to the people Ranbir Singh started a Dogri class in Sri Raghunāth Ji Temple Pāthshālā. Sons of nobles and respectable citizens were ordered to learn Dogri, and scholars were provided free board and lodging as also free books and uniforms as an incentive for the

109. Drew, Frederic, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, Delhi, 1972 p. 471.

purpose. The Maharaja used to visit the school every week and himself examined the progress made by each student and used to give awards.[110] Ten percent was deducted from the pay of such employees in the Government offices who did not possess working knowledge of Dogri.[111]

Testifying to the extensive official use of Dogri, Mr. Drew writes :

"The New Dogri is used for petitions that are read before the Maharaja and for this purpose, it has replaced Persian in which petitions were written when I first came to Jammu; but it has now generally displaced either Persian or the old Dogri. The old Dogri character is made use of only for writing the Dogri language; it is allowed in certain documents, as in reports from officers of the army, who are of a class by whom Persian is hardly ever acquired; also many accounts are kept in duplicate in Persian and Dogri; the acountants of the one class are considered a check on the other, a continuous side-by-side system of audit being thus carried out."[112]

The New Dogri character was made so common that it was used in all the official publications of the State done from the *Patwār* Rules to the Civil, Penal and Military codes in force in the State. All such publications were bi-lingual in Persian and Dogri, written in parallel columns. Dogri character was similarly used on stamp papers, currency, postal stamps and postal obliterators.

In addition to official documents a large number of Dogri books were written and printed for use in schools and public libraries. Even books on technical subjects were produced. *Lilāvati*, the well known Sanskrit text on Mathematical science, was translated into Dogri language by Jyotishi Bisheshwar, Principal of the *Raghunāth Pāthshālā*, by orders of Ranbir Singh. This 344-page book was prepared "for the convenience of his subjects and to introduce it as a course of study in the State *pāthshālās*."[113]

The Jyotishi was also responsible for the compilation of another text book in Dogri designed to meet the needs of *pāthshālās*, schools and State employees. It is a voluminous work in three parts, entitled *Vyavehār Gitā*, spreading over 630 pages and divided into 18 chapters on the analogy of the *Bhagwat Gitā*. It may be interesting to note

110. Kahan Singh Balauria, Thakur, *Soaneh-i-Umari Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, (Urdu), 1925, p. 42.

111. *Ibid.*

112. Drew, Frederic, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

113. Jyotshi Bisheshwar's Dogri translation of *Lilavati*, Raghunath Temple MSS Collection, p. 2.

the wide scope of this book of general knowledge and conduct. Beginning with lessons in Dogri with Devnāgri equivalents, both in Dogri script, the first volume of 140 pages, contains lessons in days of the week, names of musical instruments, ornaments, arms and means of communications, all these in Sanskrit with Dogri equivalents. Then follow lessons in Dogri letter-writing and every day mathematics. The second volume of 204 pages contains lessons in Geometry, village census, mansuration. etc. The third volume of 286 pages teaches methods of feeling pulse, household treatment of common ailments described in Sanskrit along with Dogri translation. This volume has some chapters on treatment of animal diseases, and simple injuries. The last chapter carries lesson in morals and etiquette, again described in Sanskrit with translation in Dogri.

The study of this book was encourged in various ways. It was made obligatory for *pujāries* of temples to teach *Vyavahār Gitā* to students in the *pāthshālās* every day.[114] The Maharaja even made it compulsory for all State employees to study this book and pass an examination in it from scholars like Fateh Singh, Hakim Fidā Mohammad Khān, Maulvi Nur-ud Din, Pandit Ganesh and Jyotshi Bisheshwar, and get certificates and attestations so as to escape the deduction of one tenth of their salaries.[115]

Some Sanskrit works were got transliterated in Dogri script. An important specimen of this sort is the *Amar Kosh*, second Part, along with commentary. A Persian book on similar pattern in Dogri is the well known '*Kareemā*, a volume of 102 pages. Both these were printed at the Bidyā Bilās Press, Jammu. *Kanoon-i-Zābitā-i-Diwāni* was also published on bilingual pattern—Persian and Dogri placed in parallel columns on each page. A Hindi publication entitled *Ranbir Chikitsā Sudhāsār*, a 76 page work, is also available in Dogri script which was published at the above named press in 1876. And lastly, there is the Dogri school primer—*Vidyārthion Ki Pratham Pustak*, a 166-pages volume, meant for the beginners. It begins with Dogri alphabet with its Devnāgri equivalents and progresses with lesson on Devnāgri as well as Dogri.

Some military books were also produced during this time, as already mentioned in chapter 5 above. A book each on Musketery Regulations and Tent-Pegging was published in Dogri also. The army law was published bi-lingually in Persian and Dogri, entitled

114. *Ain-i-Dharmarth*, Eng., Trans, p. 116.

115. *File No. 215/31 of S. 1942 (1885)*, Notification in Persian, dated 9th Bhadon, S. 1941 (*21.8.1884*), SAR (J).

Sri Ranbir Sainik Dand Bidhi for the easy comprehension of men and officers in the State forces. A similar attempt had already been successfully made in the publication of Persian-Dogri book on Civil and Criminal law, entitled *Sri Ranbir Dand Bidhi*. Ranbir Singh used to hold gatherings on the model of Akbar when men of learning and literatures gathered together for religious, social and military discussions, *Diwān* Kirpā Rām being the life and soul of such assemblage. At Jammu Ranbir Singh had established a literary and cultural society known as '*Vidyā Vilās Sabhā*' which used generally to meet every Tuesday under the presidentship of Maharaja himself. Among the scholars who regularly participated in its proceedings, the outstanding names were : Pandit Brij Lāl of Jaipur, Pandit Rasmohan Bhattāchārya of Bengal, Pandit Vyās of Patiālā, Pandit Bainkat Rām Shāstri of Benāras, Pandit Asānand, Pandit Jagadhara, Lālā Gulāb Rāi, Ghulām Ghaus Hoshāirpuri, Gasāon Pandit and Jyotshi Bishashwar.

All this brisk literary activity and the needs of the growing educational system involved the establishment of printing press. The first press set up in Jammu was probably 'Saraswati Press' where *Bālmiki Rāmāyana* was lithographed in 1858. Immediately after it the well known 'Vidyā Villās Press' was established at Jammu, which printed a large number of Dogri and bi-scriptural and Sanskrit books. Pandit Bainkat Rām Shāstri of Benāras was its proprietor. This was followed by 'Shri Raghunāth Press' in the Raghunāth Temple premises, and the 'Jangi Press' managed by Colonel Dwārkā Nāth Upādhayā. A printing press was also set up at Uttarbehni, known as the 'Bhārti Prakāsh Press'. These printing presses executed both litho and typographical printing. A printing press was established at Srinagar by Munshi Harsukh in 1870 and was called 'Tuhfāi Kashmir Press. For printing of official work, two more printing presses were established at Jammu, 'The Darbār Press' and 'The Council Press.'

The account of educational and literary achievements of Ranbir Singh's reign cannot be closed without a reference to the rise of journalism in the State. Newspapers and magazines have also started abreast of the development of printing industry. A weekly paper, *The Bidyā Bilās*, was published as an official organ of the 'Bidyā Bilās Sabhā, a literary society of which Maharaja Ranbir Singh was patron, and the weekly was presided over by a literature like *Diwān* Kirpā Rām.[116] Keeping tune with other bi-lingual literature of Ranbir

116. *Friend of India*, Calcutta Newspaper, dated 12.8.1867, p. 1093: Charak, S. D. S., *Gulābnāmā*, Eng., trans., Delhi, 1977, p. xxiv.

Singh's reign this literary magazine also published the proceedings of the Sabha both in Urdu and Hindu.[117] Two other newspapers were published from Srinagar; one was the Urdu newspaper *Tohfā-i-Kashmir*,[118] edited by a veteran journalist Munshi Harsukh Rai, who earlier edited the famous '*Koh-i-Noor*' of Lahore, and was started in 1876; the other weekly was the *Jammu Gazette*,[119] edited by Munshi Nissār Ali 'Shohrat.'

The Manuscript Library: The Raghunath Mandir Sanskrit Sangrahalya

The result of this brisk literary activity was the piling up of a large collection of Manuscripts and printed works of great value. The collection located in the Raghunāth temple, Jammu was in the first place intended to meet the needs of the teachers and pupils in various schools, and the collection of manuscripts therefore began simultaneously with the establishment of the *pāthshālā* in the first year of Ranbir Singh's reign. Various measures were adopted for the achievement of this object.

In the first place the scholars entrusted with the job were required to turn their attention chiefly to the purchase of manuscripts from other parts of India. The begining appears to have been made by Pandit Āsānanda who under the Maharaja's orders proceeded on successive occasions to Banāras where he spent a sum amounting to over Rs. 15,000 in procuring manuscripts. On account of Ranbir Singh's liberal patronage many scholars flocked to Jammu alongwith their own humble collection of books. New opportunities arose for enlarging the collection by local purchase. Thus on the death of Pt. Vyāsa (1869) a distinguished scholar especially well-versed in medical lore

117. "*Vidya Vilas*", Jammu (Kashmir State); Weekly; Average: 8 pages; Day of Publication Saturday; Language: Urdu and Hindi; Annual Subscription, Rs. 12; Proprietor: Pandit Bainkat Ram Shastri: Manager. Khoju Shah; Place of printing: Vidya Vilas; Date of commencement: 1867 A.D."
Haji Syed Mohammed Ashraf, *Akhtar-i-Shahanshahi*: A Directory of Newspapers published in India, 1886.

118. "*Tohfa-i-Kashmir*", Srinagar: Weekly; Average: 8 pages; Published: every Saturday; Registered No. 54; Yearly Rs. 15; Proprietor; Rai Harsukh Rai: Manager: Jammuna Prasad; Printed at 'Tohfa-i-Kashmir Press'; Date of commencement: 1876 A. D." *Akhtar-i.Shanshahi, op. cit.*, p. 79.

119. '*Jammu Gazette*', Srinagar: Weekly: Average 4 pages; published: Munshi Syed Nisar Ali Shohrat, Director of Education and Customs Department; Date of commencement: 1st January, 1884 A.D." *Akhtar-i-Shanshahi, op. cit.*, p. 93.

who had been drawn from Patiālā to the court of Jammu, his very extensive collection, strong in medical and *Kāvya* texts was purchased from his widow and added to the library.

Secondly some Pandits, and scholars outside state and those who visited the Raghunāth temple were induced to donate MSS in their possession to the library. In one instance Maharaja Swāi Mangal Singh of Alwar who visited Jammu court in 1883[120] presented Ranbir Singh with copies of rare works contained in the Alwar Palace Library which were deposited in the Ragunāth temple collection.[121] Thirdly, apart from the purchases the collection was steadily enrlarged during the whole of Ranbir Singh's rule by means of copies, prepared under the superintendence of a specially appointed staff, from MSS not available for sale. The rich stores of Sanskrit literature preserved by the Pandits of Kashmir had at an early date attracted the Maharaja's attention.[122] Extensive operations thus began about 1861 under the order of the Maharaja by Pandit Rājakāka, for the purpose of obtaining copies of all Kashmirian Sanskrit works not current in India proper. Most of the Kashmiri works were in Shārdā script which were transcripted into Devnāgri script with the help of Kashmiri scholars like Pandit Balabhadra Kāka and Pandit Sāhib Rām. Pandit Rājakākā obtained a fairly representative collection of works belonging to the *kāvya* and *dharma* literature of Kashmir before he died in 1884.[123] The task of completing the collection was then taken up by Pt. Jagaddhara of Jammu who with the assistance of some other scholars from Srinagar added a large number of Kashmirian texts to library larger in or outside the valley.

Finally, there were works provided under the patronage of Ranbir Singh himself, comprising besides some original compositions, a considerable number of new commentaries and digests in various branches of Sanskrit literature which were compiled at different periods by the *pandits* especially employed for this purpose.[121] Ranbir Singh spent much of the funds on the translation work, and though but comparatively few of these translations have found their way into

120. *Buhler, George, Report of Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kashmir and Rajputana, Central India*, 1877, p. 4.

121. *Ibid.*

122. Kaul, G.L. *Kashmir Through Ages*, p.185.

123. Stein, M.A. *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of H.H. The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir*, 1902, p. iv.

124. Charak, S.D.S. "Educational and Literary Activity" during the reign of Ranbir Singh (1857-1885), "*Gulab Bhawan Research Series*", Vol. I, No. 1 Oct. 1979.

the Raghunāth temple collection, the collection shows manuscripts of not less than 38 different works prepared under his auspices. Persian and Arabic works were also translated into Sanskrit with the help of competent Moulvis, which reveals the enlightened Maharaja's desire to promote spirit of true enlightenment between the representatives of Hindu and Muhammadan scholars in his domain.[125]

Gradually thousand of MSS piled up in Raghunāth temple collection which not only provided literary materials for the teaching institutions established on the traditional lines of Indian scholarship, but also offered an incentive to the scholars for higher research and interlinguistic translations and original compilation. The result was that MSS on various disciplines in *Vedic* and *Shāstric* scholarship were made available. Collection on *Vedic* ritual included original *Kalpas* of individual schools and the exegetical texts, *srauta* portion of the ritual. The oldest MS of *Griha-sūtra* is the rare work *Sānkhāyana-Grihyasūtra-Sangraha* by Vasudeva, dated Samvat 1426 (A.D.1369). Another old MS on the *Grihya* ritual in Murāri Misra's *Prakāramantra-bhāshya*, dated Samvat 1430 (A.D. 1373). Texts on *Upanishads* and *Vedāngas* had also their share in the collection. It contained Nārāyana's commentary called the *Dipikā* to not less than 40 different *Upanishads*. *Chaandaparisishta* and *Vedāntasāra* are two other important works of this category. Grammar and lexicography were well represented in the collection. Among the MSS on grammatical works connected with Panini's system there are two MSS of *Kāsikāvritti* from Kashmir. There are a large number of MSS of texts connection with *Sidhānta-kāumudi* of Battoji Dikshita.[126] Another MS relating to Panini's grammar is a rare commentary on the *Paribhashas* attributed to Vyādi and first discovered by Prof. Buhler. Among the lexican MSS of note are two, the one a rare synonymic glossary of Apya Dikshita called the *Nānāsam-grahmata* and Nirupama Dandadinatha's *Nānārtha-mata*.

On prosody and poetics also there are a number of MSS, and the one notable is a commentary by Sripati on the manual of Prakrit meters, ascribed to Pingala and usually called *Prākritapingala*. Among the Rhetoric and *Kāvyas* the rich *Alamkāra* literature of Kashmir is particularly well represented. The best known of this class is *Kāvyaprakāsa* of Mammatta. The *Nripavilāsa* of Sivarāma gives an ornate description of court life and manners. Another

125. Kahan Singh Balaoria, Thakur, *Soaneh-i-Umart Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, 1923, p. 42.

126. Stein, M.A., *op.cit.* p. xxi.

small poem of Sivarāma called *Rāvanapuravadha* gives a condensed account of Rāmas fight with Rāvana. MSS on fables and novels are not lacking. There is a Sārdā text of Bana's *Kādambari* with its continuation, the *Uttarbanga* by the authror's son.[127] There is a fragmentary MS of Kshimendra's *Brihatkathā*. There is a large number of *Purānas* and *Mahatmyas* in the collection. There is a fairly representative set of *Mahatmyas* relating to sacred spring of Kashmir, and give usually in great detail the legends attaching to different *Nāgas*.[128] They all possess great interest for the historical topography of Kashmir.

The total number[129] of MSS of various categories is over six thousand and one hundred. The total number of printed books on these subjects is about 3,000 titles. A number of Persian MSS were also got collected in the Raghunāth Mandir Sangrahalaya by the order of Ranbir Singh. Whole of this Persian collection has now been transferred to MS library of the Government Research Department, Srinagar which too was established by Ranbir Singh. The glipses of some important MSS of Persian works have been given in previous pages. There are some books in Dogri script also but their number is small. These include, besides others, *Ranvir Chikitsa*, *Vyavhār-gitā*, and *Lilāvati*.

Raghunāth Mandir collection and library is one of the largest Sanskrit MS collection in the world. This collection embodies Ranbir Singh's love for literature and education. A number of rare MSS are to be found in the collection, and it was fortunate that the Sanskrit scholars of the world found the only existing MS of the *Paipalād Atharvaveda* in the collection. Ranbir Singh was also interested in paintings and hence we have some half a dozen illustrated MSS, the two on the *Rāgamālā* containing the finest miniatures. This collec-

127. *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi.

128. *Ibid.*, p. xli.

129. It may be interesting to know number of MSS in various categories of literature, which is shown below:

(1) *Vedic* literature, 202; (2) *Sūtra* literature, 221; (3) *Upanishads*, 421; (4) *Vedānga*, 26; (5) Grammar, 276; (6) Lexicography, 70; (7) Poetics, 27; (8) Science of Music, 35; (9) Science of *Alamkāra*, (10) *Kāvya*, 263; (11) Dramatics, 54; (12) Tradition and fiction etc. 31; (13) *Dharmashāstras*, 718; (14) *Pūrvamimānsa*, 158; (15) *Vedānta* 404; (16) *Sankhya* philosophy, 15; (17) *Yoga* philosophy, 26, *Nayāya-Vaisheshika* Philosophy, 435; (19) *Jyotish* arts, etc. 510; (20) Medicine, 241; (21) Epics, 96; (22) *Purānas* and *Mahātmyas* etc. 309; (23) *Bhakti Shāstra*, 313; (24) *Tantra Shāstra*; (25) Jain literature, 35; (26) Works in Tamil Script, 68; (27) Works in *Sārdā* script on *Bhurja*, 29.

tion will ever remain a living tribute to Ranbir Singh's scholarship and patronage of learning and literature.

Section D

Dharmārth and Religious Endowments

The concept of Dharmārth is not new. It has existed and persisted in some form since the ages when human society in India organised itself into a political body. The Muslim rulers of India had also organised religious departments and appointed officers of religion, like sadar, the *qāzi* and *muhtasib* as Asoka in bygone ages appointed *Dharmamahāmātras*. In the plains of the Punjab and the hills of Jammu Dharmārth organisation was established by the Sikh ruler, Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, and we read about this department in the Diaries of Sohan Lal (called *Umdat-ul-Tawārikh*) for the first decade of the nineteeth century. When Gulāb Singh was made Raja of Jammu by Ranjit Singh in 1822, he also organised *Dharmārth* as an important branch of his administration in Jammu region. But for some time it remained mostly a private concern of the ruler, his courtiers and the members of the royal house-hold till it became a regular department of Jammu and Kashmir Government at the creation of this state in 1846.

Gulāb Singh seems to have established Dharmārth in 1826 and for some decades after it this institution remained attached to the royal house-hold, through which the charities and religious endowments of the ruler and other members of his family, were disposed of.

On becoming Raja of Jammu Gulāb Singh found that there were very few temples and places of worship to satisfy the religious aspirations of the Hindus. With the exception of the sacred shrines of the Goddess Shri Vaishnavi on the Trikutā Hills and the temple of Shibji at Purmandal on the Banks of the Devikā, there were no good buildings or memorial institution in Jammu Province.[130] He therefore took great pains in making good this shortcoming and undertook the construction of religious edifices and building of temples in various cities and villages which are found standing even to this day.

The first temple that Gulāb Singh built was probably that of Sui-Sumbali which he constructed for his *guru*, *Bāwā* Prem Dāss,[131]

130. *Political Department File No. 43/G-75* for the year 1902, Old English Records, SAR (J).

131. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulābnāmā*, Eng. Tr., New Delhi, 1977, p. 51.

who had predicted for him a bright career as early as 1808 A. D. The temple was built in 1826. Another temple in the adjoining village of Burj-Khaddeh was also built by him about the same year. He had also built a temple inside the palaces which was called *Thākur-dwārā* and which was visited by Maharaja Ranjit Singh while at Jammu in 1839.[132] A large endowment of free-hold lands was attached to those temples, the management of which probably rested with the grantees. These temples were built and maintained out of cash donations and land grants set aside for *Dharmārth*.

However, when he became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846 he started the regular *Dharmārth* activities and gave it a final shape and reserved it exclusively for charitable purposes, viz., the maintenance of State Temples, Charitable institutions and schools giving instructions in purely religious subjects.[133] The endowment consisted of *Jāgir* villages and of very large cash contributions made from time to time, including the initial donation of five lakh rupees, by Gulāb Singh, and afterwards by Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who after defraying ordinary expenditure, accumulated a balance representing the fixed capital account of the fund. This capital was raised by accumulations of saving secured by economy and by investment in Government Securities. To this were added charities from the royal family. The originial scheme of *Dharmārth* was intended to keep the expenditure within the income from the *jāgir* endowments and receipts[134] on the capital which was commercially invested.

He "ordained that a treasury consecrated as the Treasury of Shri Raghunāthji be founded, wherein five lakhs of rupees be invested and interest of the money be appropriated for the permanent maintenance of *sadāvrats* (public charitable institution).[135] In pursuance of this he made an endowment of the amount from his private funds and appointed his son, *Miān* Ranbir Singh, as its Trustee. Later this Treasury was given the name of *Dharmārth* Treasury,[136] to which the latter also added substantial cash funds and endowments with the result that in due course of time it accumulated

132. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

133. *Raja Amar Singh, P. M. to the Resident, dated 30 December, 1890. General & Political Deptt.* English Records, SAR (J).

134. *Ibid.*

135. *Ibid.*, Preamble, also see *the Dharmārth Trust, Jammu and Kashmir, A Brief Introduction*, Jammu, 1978, p. 3.

136. *Ibid.*

to the tune of about 30 lakhs during the reign of Ranbir Singh, out of which some 13 lakhs were spent on the State Railway during Pratāp Singh's rule.[137]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh executed the trust in a very satisfactory manner and the maintenance of the *Sadāvrats* from the treasury were systematically carried on. On 10 Katik, 1941 (21 October, 1884) he made a permanent arrangement for the administration of *Dharmārth* Funds by creating *Dharmārth* Trust and by ordaining the creation of a council for the supervision, management and protection of the *Dharmārth* and to transact business according to the rules given in the "Regulations for the Guidance of the Council".[138] He further enjoined his "sons, heirs, descendants or the officials and administrators of the state to lend their help and assistance in the arrangement" so made and forbade them to make any other expenditure not sanctioned by the regulations laid down and in force.[139] Maharaja Ranbir Singh's sons, Pratāp Singh, Rām Singh and Amar Singh, gave a written, undertaking on 7 May, 1884, and declared "that we will obey the injunctions with our heart and soul. We also hereby sincerely affirm and declare in writting that we shall never depart from or show any relaxation in the due observance of the Regulations recorded as the matter is a sacred and religious one".[140]

Thus the *Dharmārth* Trust was formed and set on well-organised firm basis by Maharaja Ranbir Singh during the last year of his reign. Ranbir Singh had extended the scope of *Dharmārth* and he put it to the service of society, primarily Hindus, to enhance its well being and to achieve its intellectual as well as its spiritual and literary growth. The finances for all these activities came from the income arising out of the investment of the capital cash charities, offerings at temples and revenues amounting to Rs. 48,240 of 25 villages in Kashmir[141] and 35 villages in Jammu.[142] It seems that a

137. *General & Pol. Deptt. File No. 18* of the year 1890. Old Eng. Records, SAR (J).

138. *General & Pol. Deptt. File No. 43/G-75* for 1902, Old Eng. Records, SAR (J).

139. *Ibid.*

140. *Ibid.*

141. The following is the list of villages in the valley:
Bove Gund, Dharam Bhug, Sopar Gund, Zaipura, Vatalar, Arch, Fatihpur, Vahidpur, Naroo and Karivah, Boogroo, Vagar, Laniloot and Ghasipura, Dhanow, Palapur and Skawoor, Ziwan, Chattragul, Zari Gund, Guft Gangaji, Sibadhar, Gumtaroo and Palapurah, Gundi Chookapurah, Bami Loon, Gongarhama, Kanj Gund, Balgam, Bag Bacharoo, Votarpura, Vogamanah, Cf. *SAR (J)*

Dharmārth cess or charity fund was raised from the people also at the nominal rate of half per cent on the land revenue.[143]

The expenditure consisted of cash grants to temples and other places of worship and doles of cash and grains to individuals and expenditure for religious establishments at Hardwār, Kāshi, Prayāg, Badrinārāin and other places of worship. Because a part of income was raised from all the people irrespective of religion, so a part of *Dharmārth* funds was spent on common services, such as construction of paths, repair of bridges including the Tawi bridge, and even a loan of 13 lakh rupees was given for the construction of the proposed Jammu and Sialkot State Railway with a view to the common weal.[144]

However, the basic aim of the *Dharmārth* Trust was 'solely' "the prosperity and advancement of the sacred religion of the Hindus and his own (Ranbir Singh's) spiritual redemption as well as that of the august family,[145] in addition to the propagation of *Dharma*; construction of new temples; renovation and improvement of ancient temples of Vaishno Devi at Trikutā, Shivji at Paramandal, and others; establishment and maintenance of *Sadāvrats* and *Gowshālās*, starting and up-keep of *pāthsālās* and other similar charitable purposes.[146]

The construction of temples for worship and for imparting knowledge and education was Ranbir Singh's special interest. He

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General and Pol. Deptt. File No. 18 of 1980 (*Old English*). The lands of these villages were granted to various temples like Khir Bhawāni, Samādhi Rām Bagh, Guft Gangā, Raghunāth Ji, Ranbir Sawāmi and others. The total revenue raised from these grants amounted to Rs 26,600 per year.

142. The Dharmārth Villages in Jammu Province included—Panj Granhi Brahminan, Kanal, Kaltah, Kanyalah, Bani Sultan, Bharal, Hoori, Soongal, Shairpur Vandi Narnoo, Rugal, Najwal, Barath, Chakh, Bahadurpur, Dhawali, Panj Granhi Siniyan, Shairpur vandi Ghasita, Loondi Malani, Sukhoo Charam, Junglate Soongul, Khanpur, Soonthalah Motaliyan, Madaakh, Vaddhah, Arzi Jasrota, Hat Punghat, Palaorah Mudwal. Cf. *SAR* (*J*). *Gen. & Pol. Deptt. File No. 18 of 1890* (Old Eng.).

The revenue receipts from these grants amounted to Rs. 23,000 annually. Most of these villages were granted to Raghunāth Temple complex, Jammu and some to Devi Trikutā and one to Ranbireshwar Temple, Jammu.

143. *File No. 10 of 1883* (Old English), pp. 55-61, SAR (J).

144. *File No. 18 of 1890, op. cit.*, letter dated 30.12.1890, Raja Amar Singh to the Resident.

145. *File No. 43/G-75 of 1902*, Document dated 25 Baisakh, S. 1941 (7 May, 1884), SAR (J).

146. *The Dharmarth Trust, Jammu and Kashmir—A Brief Introduction*, Jammu, 1978, p. 3.

built a large number of shrines in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar and in country side, adding some more temples to the already existing ancient *tiraths.* Although he could not equip Jammu to rival with Kāshi as he had intended yet he built a number of temples in the city and gave a lead to his Ranis and courtiers who also constructed a number of these so that Jammu became known as 'City of Temples'. He built seven temples in Jammu City, of which the stately pile of temples, known as the Raghunāth Mandir, is the most conspicious object on the picturesque slopes of Jammu town and first attracts the eye of the visitor when approaching this centre of Dogrā culture from the plains. He also raised a valuable manuscript library in it, and both these institutions "stand forth as solid monuments of the main qualities in his remarkable character, pious regard for the inherited religions traditions and enlightened interest in Indian learning."[147]

Soon after his accession Ranbir Singh consecrated this shrine to the worship of Rāma or Raghunāth, from whom the Dogrās claim descent. By the pious zeal of Ranbir Singh this shrine gradually expanded and became the centre of extensive religions establishments. He surrounded it with a cluster of some eleven temples containing 11 lakh *shāligrāms* and numerous statues of gods and goddesses.[148] The Maharaja provided for endowments for the founding and maintenance of such religious institutions as the *Dharma-shāstras* recommended. These included a *pāthshālā* or college and a Library of Sanskrit works. In the former he provided for the tuition and support of several hundred students, and made arrangement for a comprehensive system of conventional, higher education in religion, philosophy, medicine and Hindu sciences, and encouraged collection, writing and translation of manuscripts. The expenses of all these activities was borne by *Dharmārth.*

Ranbir Singh's interest in the construction of public utility edifices was great. He laid down that "A well, a *baoli,* tank or a temple should every year be erected on behalf of the *Sarkār* (i. e.) the Maharaja"[149] The result was that before the close of his reign a crop of religious shrines, well scattered all over the state, grew up. Of these the most important besides the Raghunāth temple complex, were the following:

147. Stein, M. A., *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of H. H. Maharaja of Jammn and Kashmir,* pp. i-v.

148. The Raghunāth Temple Complex now consists of 21 temples and 6 *Jhatās.* Cf. *The Dharmārth Trust Jammu & Kashmir, op. cit.,* p. 6.

149. *Ain-i-Dharmarth* (Eng. Trans) Jammu, p. 5. Artticle-21.

Temple of the Goddess Shri Mahā Lakshmiji,
Temple of Shri Gadhādharji, Temple Shri Shibnāthji,
Shivālā Shri Ranbireshwarji, Temple of Amukteshwarji,
Shri Goddess Kālkāji of Bābu, Temples at Purmandal and
Shri Uttarbehani, Temple at Udhampur, Temple at Suchetgarh,
Shivālā at Suttaini, *Thākurdwārā* at Bāmnādi Bari.
Some edifices were raised at the Vaishno Darbār, Trikutā.

The province of Kashmir also shared equally Ranbir Singh's attention in his field and a large number of shrines were constructed there including temple of Shri Gadādharji, Shri Raghunath Temple, Shri Shārika and Jawālāji, Khir Bhawāni, Asht Bhairon, Shri Shārdāji, and Temples at Anantnāg, Bijbihārā, Pāmpur, Mārtand and Muzaffarābād, and Gulāb Singh's *Smādhi* at Rām Bāgh, Srinagar. A number of other temples were built in these two cities and in *muffasil.*

Ranbir Singh enjoined upon the officials concerned to carry out the proper supervision of these *Sarkāri* temples as "they have *Jāgirs* assigned to them by the *Sarkār*". Ranbir Singh ordained in very clear words that :

> "Whatever, *tiraths* (places of pilgrimage are attached to the mosques and shrines of the Mohammadans, should not be disturbed".[150]

Gardens were laid out invariably in every shrine for beautification of the premises and to provide flowers for offerings to the deity enshrined, *Pujāris* attandants on the deity in adequate numbers were appointed for each shrine and cash provisions was made for purchase of *samagri, dhup, dip* and other articles of *pūjā* for daily use and for annual renovation of dress of the deities. Temple attendants included men like *sanjoo, hamāmi* gong-striker, drum beater, conch blower, *tūrinavāz,* sweepers, shoe bearers, gardeners, *pujāris, pandits, kathāwālā* and *nāuvat-wālās.* In the shrine of Shri Devi, Trikutā special attendants like *jhagrā kotwāl, darorā* and *duftri* were appointed. *Sadāvrats,* i.e., free kitchens, were run in all temples and shrines, and this was that most important daily ritual where food was served to the poor and travellers after offering *krāh* and *naived* to the deity twice a day. It was laid down that "cooked food or rations should be given to travellers, the needy, *sādhūs* and *mahatmas*" from the kitchens for the poor. Vegetables for the kitchen were raised in temples gardens. *Goshālās* or cow-sheds were also maintained as a religious duty the expenses of

150. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

which were met out of temple funds and out of special *sankalap* (charity) by the Maharaja. *Dhūp* (insences) and *deep* (lamps) were kept burning in the shrines round the clock. A uniform *padati* or procedure was laid down for *pūjā*, *sandhiyā*, *pāth*, *havan* and *prayoga*.[151]

For the administration of all such activities of the shrines and the *jāgirs* granted to them, each temple complex was considered a unit. In some cased dispensaries were also attached to them which were manned by physicians, and dispensers and where free medical service and medicines were made available to the needy. Treatment of patients was done according to the system expounded in the *Ranbir Parkāsh*.[152] Musicians were employed at each temple to play music morning and evening, and at regular intervals *Rās* dances and *nātaks* were performed. *Dharmsālās* for providing resting places to travellers and pilgrims were made necessary adjuncts of shrines where food was given free from *sadāvrats* (free-kitchens). Big and small *pāthshālās* (elementary schools) were important features of these shrines.

Thus Ranbir Singh made the temples centres of health and culture, entertainment and religion, and for imparting of morals, education in charity and liberality. Here *pandits*, *pujāris*, teachers and *Vaidyas* specially trained in their trade were appointed on adequate remunerations and allowances. Stipends were every where given to the *vidyārthis*.

For the management of temples and *jāgirs* non-religious officials were deputed on regular salaries. All accounts and records were kept by *daftris*, accountants, and clerks or *munshi*, cashiers and storekeepers were responsible for cash and temple property like ornaments, dresses, utensils, *rasad*, *chhatars*, *samagri*, etc. Some special servants like *modi*, milkman and *mukarrariwālā* were employed in some shrines. *Adhishtātās* or Managers looked after the whole temple establishment, whereas *kārdārs* were the highest officials who manged all the *jāgirs* and lands of temples. Some officials were provided with liveries which were prepared out of the *chariāl* or cash offerings. A substantially extensive activity emanated out of this management and a large number of administrators, beneficiaries and people were connected with and affected by the existence of these shrines, Ranbir Singh seems to have used them as a media of moral, intellectual and spiritual uplift of his people, particularly the Hindu section. The great Council of the *Dharmārth* administered a huge institution which influenced the life of the people of the state in various ways.

151. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-48.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 116 Art 6 (5).

Uttarbehni and Purmandal had been developed into special centres of pilgrimage and community service. A big temple complex was built at each place, including shrines dedicated to Shiv, Ganesh, *Kāritik*, Bhairon, Kāsi Vishwa Nāth, Gadādhar, Raghunāth, Hanūmān, Rādhā Krishna, Gāyatri, Saraswati and Kāli and the *Avatāras* like Matsya, Kachh, Varāh, Narsingh, Vāman, Paras Rām, Kalki. Permanent *sadāvrats* were established there and large *dharmshālās* had been built there by Gulāb Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh and their courtiers. A number of gardens had been raised there. A big *pathshālā* to accommodate more than 1500 residential students was established there. Provision was also made there to keep 100 camels for lentout service to the government, merchants and pilgrims and a regular department was established to look after them and to keep record of income and expenditure thereof. A special feature of Uttarbehni complex was the infirmery to treat indoor patients. Its personnel included a *hakim*, a *vaid*, a number of compounders, male and female nurses, sweepers and a *tehvildār* in-charge of medicinal and herbal stock. This religio-community centre came to be known among the people far and wide as the Haridwār of the Jammu hills.

Ranbir Singh's humanitarian activities spread beyond the borders of his state. He set up *sadāvrats* and *dharmshālās* at the famous places of pilgrimiage in India including those at Tapoban, Gayā, Badrināräin and Kāshiji, where 40 to 100 *sādhus* and pilgrims were housed and fed everyday. He also built a grand *haveli* (residence) at Kāshi where people from the State were provided boarding and lodging for 15 days. At Kāshi he also built a *pāthshālā* where provision for the education and boarding of 200 scholars was made. The Maharaja himself bore the expenses of all these institutions at Kāshi and other *tiraths* outside the State. Their Management rested with the *Dharmārth* department. Ranbir Singh's Zeal for welfare of the mankind at large, and even for animals was boundless, limited only by his resources which fell much short of the largeness of his heart and the grandeur of his spirit. Like Asoka, the Great, his benevolence transcended all political and religious bounds, and in the annals of our nation he can be considered the last of the line of the benevolent and serving kings of our country.

Section E

Art and Architecture

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was an ardent lover of architecture and art, both of which he put to the service of religion and learning.

He himself got constructed a number of religious and secular edifices and thereby initiated a fashion among his dependants, courtiers and wealthy subjects to built temples and shrines dedicated to R aghunāth and other deities. Among his buildings are the well known Raghunāth temple complex at Jammu, Raghunāth and Ga dādharji temples at Uttarbehni, Gadādhar and Ranbireshvara temples at Jammu, Panchavaktra temple, Jammu, Maharaja Gulab Singh's Smadhi at Rām Bāgh. Srinagar, his own Smadhi in Raghunath temple complex, Jammu and the Ranbir Palace, Jammu. His Katoch Rani built a Raghunāth temple below Gumat, and his Bandrahli Rani built other Raghunāth temple at Purāni Mandi in Jammu city. Among his courtiers, his Prime Minister *Diwān* Jwālā Sahāi built the huge Raghunāth temple known as 'Mandir Diwānān'. In addition, Ranbir Singh constructed residential *pāthshālās* and colleges attached to the temple complexes both at Jammu and Uttarbehni, some *dharmashālās* (rest houses) at Purmandal, Uttarbehni, Kāshiji and Haridwār. There are a number of other temples in Jammu city and *muffasil* (country-side) built by the wealthy and well-to-do members of the community. Almost all the edifices of Ranbir Singh's period stand in good condition to this day. With minor variations in architecture and size, all the temples have been built almost in the similar Nāgar style of the late nineteenth century which was popular in northern India at that time. He made use of bricks in the construction of temples and *dharmashālās* even where fine sand-stone was available for use, as for example at Purmandal and Uttarbehni where earlier buildings have been built in dressed sand-stone. It seems that the art of stone architecture had disappeared from this region by his time. He had, therefore, to get most of the *mūrtis* (idols) from Rājasthān and other places which he established in his temples. This was also dictated by his ardent devotion to his *Pauranic* religion which ordained the devotees to procure *mūrtis* of deities from most sacred and approved sources. The lakhs of *Salagrāms*, which he got consecrated in various *akhārās* (halls) in the Raghunāth temple complex, were procured from the Gandaki which according to tradition produced the most auspicious pieces.

The temples built during Ranbir Singh's reign are almost in the same style with minor variations in outer members of the *sikhara* and constructional embellishments. The Raghunāth Temple complex is a huge edifice containing a few *smadhis* and a number of temples dedicated to different deities of Hindu pantheon arranged in a continuous square around the central shrine housing the Raghunāth

(Rāma flanked by Sitā and Lakshamana) idols. The vast campus is entered by a two-storeyed *deodhi* on the east, flanked by a few *smādhis* and temples on either side, one of the *smādhi* being that of Maharaja Ranbir Singh himself built in the North Indian temple style which is often characterised by a spire which is conical, curvilinear and convex in form and is usually crowned by a vase-shaped member, *kalasha,* and is referred to as *nāgara*, and some times, as Indo-Aryan. The main chamber enshrining the remains of the late Maharaja is preceded by a *mandapa* and both are topped by *shikharas*. The *śhikhara* on the *mandupa* is octagonal at its base which emerges from the *janghā*, and the *shikhara* issues from the lotus petal motif with a straight-line curve. The octagonal base is decorated with small balconies or windows constructed within the false openings on all the eight faces of the octagonam. All the eight sides of the spire also culminate in minor and subordinate *śhikharas* clustering around and below the main *shikhara,* all crowned with golden *kalashas* issuing from the *amalaka,* looking like metallic *ghatas* piled on each other. The chamber wall above the enclosing verandah has been divided horizontally by a projecting *chajjā* or eve. The upper portion is highly embellished by architectural devices and is divided into two sections having three arched false entrances encased by balcony shaped decorative motifs. The outer walls of the chamber are highly decorated from above the verandah, on all the three sides except that on the front which is covered by successive *shikharas* of the *mandapa*. On either side of these there are arched frames encasing mirrors. The squinches of inner sides of the chamber has *jāli* (screen) within the canopy from which the construction of the covering *śhikhara* over the dome outside is visible. The *shikharas* of the chamber and the *mandapa* are crowned with elaborately designed *kalasas*. They are in the form of inverted lotus motifs.

All the temples of the complex have been built in the same fashion and only differ in minor architectural details. However, others are not so elaborately embellished as this *samādhi*. The main central shrine which houses the Raghunāth icons, is a simple and plain square chamber crowned by a *śhikhara* and encased by a verandah on all sides which serves as circumambulatory passage. The verandah—like *mandapa* is 6.80 × 5.75 metres, resting on four massive rectangular piers, dividing the entire *mandapa* into three aisles and providing base for the arches supporting the roof. As usual, the high wall which towers the verandah ends in chhajja-like projection all around out of which the stately curvilinear *śhikhara* emerges. This portion of the wall is decorated with false

arched openings or riches, three on each side. The central false openings possess windows with arched projection above. The upper portion is embellished by a projected band running on all the sides, small windows and other architectural devices. Above the height of windows another two parallel horizontal bands run all around, marked out with flower-petal motifs. Then the uppermost edge of the square construction is marked by another *chajjā* with a lotus petal base, from which grows the curvilinear *shikhara* which have three *ura-Sringas* on each side, one above the other, and culminates in an *amalka*. Each *ura-śringa* is crowned by *Kalasa* and the *śhikhara* over *amalka* has a big *kalasa* crowned by a parol.

The Ranbireswaram temple, built by Ranbir Singh, is dedicated to god Śiva and is an imposing edifice raised on a lofty square platform below which there are two-storeyed rooms for *pujāris* and pilgrims. The whole establishment is marked by an elegant design, though the temple itself is planned like other temples in the city. The cella housing a huge *sphatic śiva-linga* surrounded by a dozen *bilaor* (crystal) *śiva-lingas*, is enclosed all around by a verandah, above the walls of the *garbhgriha* emerge to a great height till they end in a cornice from which the curvilinear *shikhara* grows. The base of the *śhikhara* has a brought pattern topped by upward lotus leaf and lotus bud designs. Above this are three *ura-śringas* one above the other, on all sides, crowned by *amalaka* and a lofty *kalasa*. All other temples built in Ranbir Singh's reign follow this general pattern which is to be seen in the Raghunāth temple complex and the Ranbiresvaram temple. The style or *shaili* followed seems to be a fine blending of Indo-Aryan and Islamic art. The pattern of Kashmiri temples was also before the masons of Jammu. Thus the construction of a series of temples in outer *parikramā* is certainly an idea taken from the temples of Kashmir which possess peristyle in outer *prakara* of the temple compounds. Similarly squinches required for the base of a dome in Islamic tombs and mosques was also put into use in temples. The *amalka* generally constructed like the *amala* are absent and have been replaced in almost all the temples by an inverted lotus type motif to serve as a base of the *kalasas*. The fine fusion of these styles provides sametimes architectural beauty of itself. At the *smādhi* of Maharaja Ranbir Singh the circular dome rests upon the inner side on the squinches but from outside it is covered with a *śikhara* possessing *ura-sringas*. The use of squinches is more useful in hexagonal and octagonal *śhikaras*. Generally these are used in crowning the square chambers and the base of such *śhikharas* rests on squinches.

Ranbir Singh seems to have recognised the cognitive and visual faculties as great aids in learning and education, which fact encouraged the art of text illustration on purely utilitarian pattern. A number of books on arts and crafts, archery and military science, culinary art and other trades were provided with illustrations of appliances and weapons, lovely patterns and other visual aids, prepared by expert artists in various colours. Ranbir Singh gave handsome rewards for such works of art. Such patronage revived the art of manuscript-illumination in this State, an art which had already reached the highest water-mark of perfection much before his time.

Almost a millenium old art of manuscript painting, which had evolved in western India including Rājasthān and Gujrāt, had reached Jammu hills probably during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Akbar's atelier had produced a large number of illustrated manuscripts on Persian and India texts, some of which were really superb like those of *Hamzānāmā* and *Razamnāmā* (*the Mahābhārata*). These illustrated manuscripts popularised the art and also set a norm for the Rajput courts in Rājasthan and Siwaliks where various schools of Pahāri painting were coming into being. The illustrated manuscripts produced in the courts of Hill chiefs evinced both Indian and Mughal features and presented a happy blending of these with the local or *desi* element. It was this mixed style which the hill princes of Jammu region patronised in miniature painting as well as text illustration. The earliest specimen available is that of Bhānudatta's *Rasamanjari* painted by the painter Devi Dāsa in Basohli style in 1693 under the patronage of Raja Kirpāl Pāl Balaoria. Another set of paintings illustrating a Sanskrit manuscript, the *Gita-Govind* of Jay Deva, was done in Basohli style by the painter Mānakū in 1730 under the patronage of Raja Medini Pāl of Basohli. The tradition of manuscript illustration set by these early painters may have continued afterwards, at their centres of Dogra painting. We have two such series in Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, one illustrating some *Nayaka-Nāyikā* text, and the other depicting various episodes of the *Mahābhārata* leading to the revelation of the message of the *Gitā* to Arjuna by Krishna. These later attempts belong to the Jammu *Kalam*' of later 18th or early 19th century. Some fractions of manuscript illustrations in the Dogra Art Gallery, though undated, may belong to the period of Gulāb Singh and Ranbir Singh on stylistic grounds. However, the small paintings have since been removed and detached from the texts and framed separately, nothing particular can be said about their sequence in the manuscript and the exact date of their production.

There are nevertheless a few illustrated manuscripts in the Ranbir Sanskrit Manuscripts collection in the Raghunāth Temple, Jammu belonging to Ranbir Sing's reign. Two of these are *Rāgamālā* manuscripts, whereas three pertain to *Bhagvata-Gita-mālā* and *Gitā-pancha-ratni* group. One of the *Rāgamālā* manuscripts is of larger size and has been elaborately painted and lavishly decorated. The manuscript was prepared in 1873 A.D. according to the date inscribed on the title page, by Pandit Rājā Rām, probably the same author who wrote a general history of the Punjab under the title *Gulgasht-i-Panjāb*, dated A.D. 1849. On this manuscript, which is in State Archives, Patiala, the author gives his name as Rājā Rām Tolā. He seems to have been a dexterous caligraphist and has beautifully inscribed in black and white, alternating, his manuscript on *Rāgamālā*. The ground of the pages of the text is in various colours on which writing in black and white is surrounded by coloured ink and liquid gold. Pages are surrounded by *Hāshiās* covered by floral designs. The text carries a selected poem by famous Hindi poets like *Sūrdās* and *Tulsi* to be sung in a particular *Rāgā*, written in black ink, each line followed by its Persian translation in verse in the metre of the same *Rāga*—inscribed in white ink. Each *Rāga* has its pictorial representation on the opposite page. The size of the manuscript is 9″ × 11″ and hence paintings are of a bit large-sized miniatures with a $1\frac{1}{4}$″ *hasiā* in pink, or light yellow, brown, blue or grey bearing all over its surface floral bushes in gold. Of the twenty-eight paintings in the manuscript some four or five on *māru, sārang, megh* and *Bindrā-bani rāgas* have quite natural setting without any man-made element in it, with stylised, rocky hills in pink colour in the background topped by a few round trees in bluish green and a blue horizon. Ground is usually shown in brown or yellowish brown. Varieties of red, brown, grey and blue colours predominate. All the paintings present to the eye a pleasant feast of colours, not of primary colours as in Basohli, painting, but of mixed hues of charming quality. The male and female figures of *rāgas* and *rāginis* have been carefully drawn having heavy faces, arched eye-brows, large almond-like eyes—all characteristic features of Jammu school. Females are attired in *choli* and *ghāgra*, the latter mostly in red with floral designs on it, a transparent spotted *chunari* and all the usual ornaments on wrists, neck, forehead and ears, worked in scintilating gold ink. Clouds are als fringed with streaks of gold. Trees and foliage slightly give a decorative touch. The floors of pavillions and flower beds have been provided with seemingly rich carpets with floral patterns. The small one or two room huts are invariably white with coloured geometric and

floral designs against white walls, doors having folded *sirkis* decorated with floral designs (Plate 12). Figure work is neat. Females are shown with heavy waists and plumpy bodies, a bit short in stature having characteristic Dogra features. Depiction of nature is also quite interesting and realistic. Horizon is usually shown covered with curling clouds over cluster of slightly stylised trees. (Plate 13). In the depiction of *Bindrābani rāgani* the characteristic *kandi* perspective with stony hillocks topped by trees of mango, *jāman* and *thohar* and other arid features have been brought together in such a way as to create a vierd yet charming atmosphere for the Dogra *nāyikā* surrounded by peacocks (Plate 14).

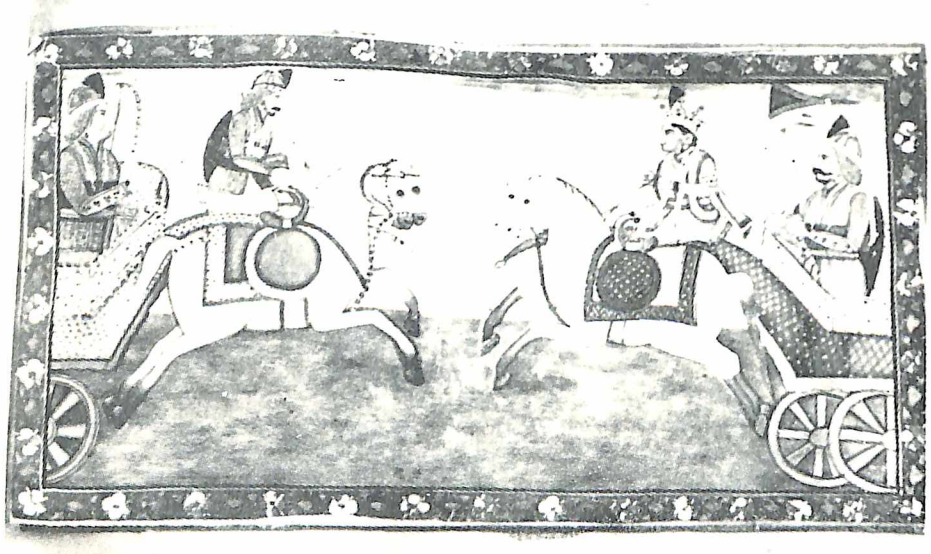
The other *Rāgamālā* manuscript written in ordinary hand contains 28 paintings. The scene of most of the *rāgas* is laid one or two room huts in white decorated with geometrical patterns painted on the walls, and the mood of the *rāgas* is usually represented by *nāyikās* in groups of two, three or more afflicted by the characteristic emotion of a particulars *rāga* or *rāgani.* (Plates 16 & 17). In some *rāgas* like *nata-rāga, hindol,* or *Sri-rāga* a Dogrā hero or *nāyik* is also present. The facial formula of the female figures in this set seems to have been influenced by Kāngra idiom, although features remain mostly Dogrā. The depiction of male figures is purely in Dogrā or Jammu style. Colours used are soft and sobre and there is little of unnecessary embellishment. Sobriety of depiction, balance in line and colour and naturalness are the chief characteristics of the paintings in this manuscript which has been done in characteristic Jammu style. The style of this work varies from that of the other manuscript in the sense that facial Dogrā features have been much emphasised in the latter work.

The *Gitā-pancharatni* and *Gitā-mālā* manuscripts, however, represent the traditional style applied in religious subjects in western India and Rājasthān, particularly in Kashmir and Siwalik hill region. Stray paintings are provided/inserted here and there throughout the manuscripts. A handmade thick paper is used for paintings quite distinct from the paper used for writing purposes. It seems that artists kept ready a stock of such paintings for small manuscripts as were much in demand and were bound in the manuscripts against the pages which referred to the theme of the painting. Artists might have also painted sets on series of themes on demand from the owner of the manuscript. The themes are mostly mythological and from the *Mahābhārata,* especially the episodes leading to the revelation of the gospel of the *Bhagvadgitā.* The classical iconography of the deities has been followed which shows that the *shāstric* con-

20. Varahavatara
(from a Sanskrit Ms in Dogra Art Gallery)

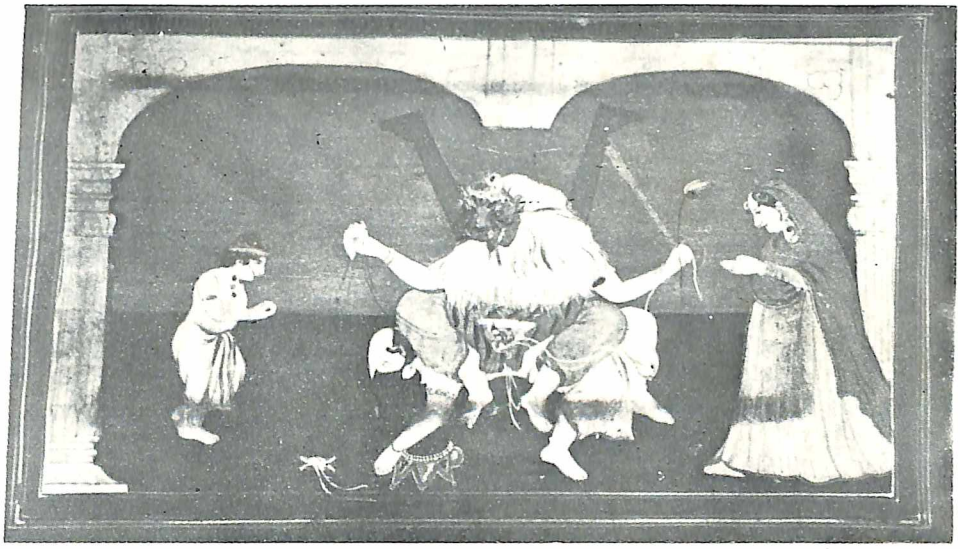
21. A text illustration from a Sanskrit Ms in Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu

22. Sesha-Shāyi Visnu



23. A Scene from Mahābharata War

24. Varahavatara
(from a Gita-pancha ratni Ms)



25. Nar Singh-avatara
(Text illustration from a Gita-pancharatni MS)

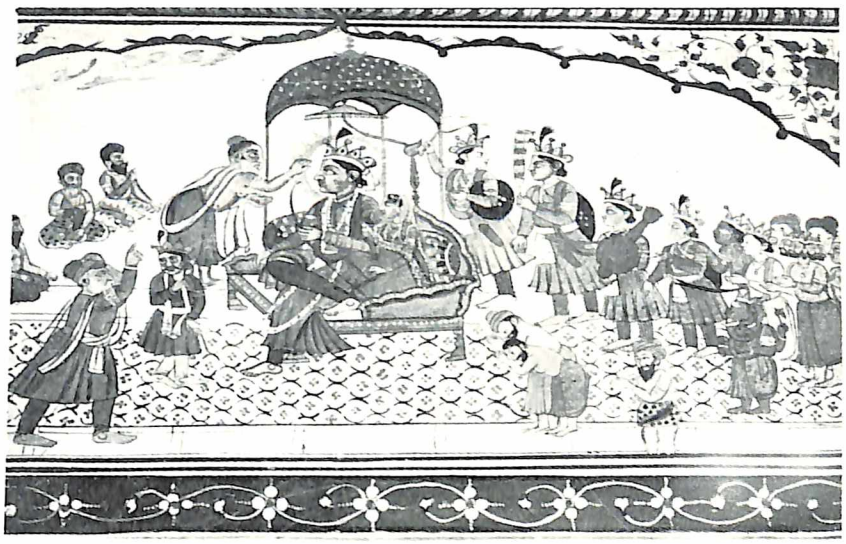
26. The Mahabharata War
(A mural in Raghunath temple, Burj)

27. Rama's attack on Lanka
(A mural in Rama-lilā room, Bandrahli Rani's temple, Jammu)

28. Krishna embracing Radha
(A mural in annexee to Krishna-lila room, Bandrahli Rani's temple, Jammu)

29. Gopi-cheer-haran
(A mural in Raghunath temple, Burj)

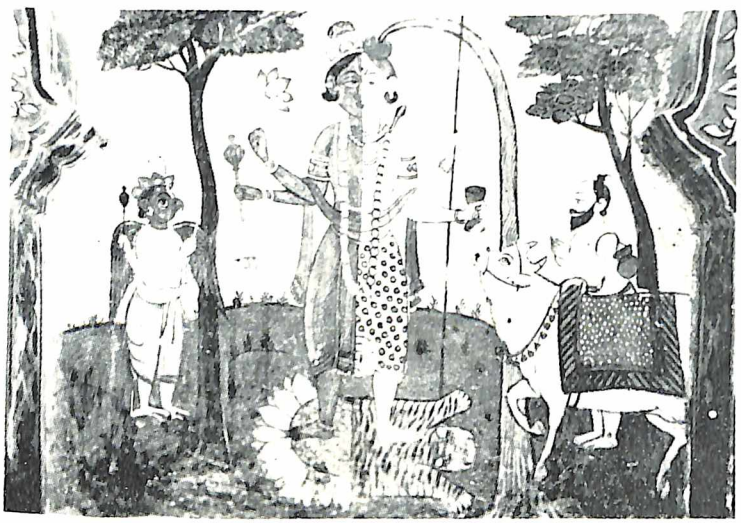
30. Krishna Killing an asura
(A mural in Bandrahli Rani's temple)



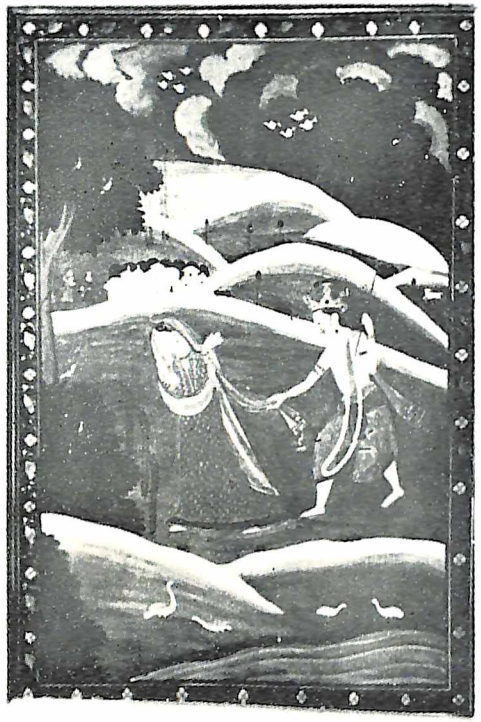
31. Rama's Coronation
(A mural in Bandrahli Rani's temple)

32. Krishna and Gopis playing Holi
(A mural in Raghunath Shrine, Dhakki Parmeshwari)

33. Visnu and Lakshami being invoked by Gods. (A mural in Raghunath temple, Burj)



34. Hari-Hara (half Visnu, half Siva)
(A mural in Raghunath temple, Burj)

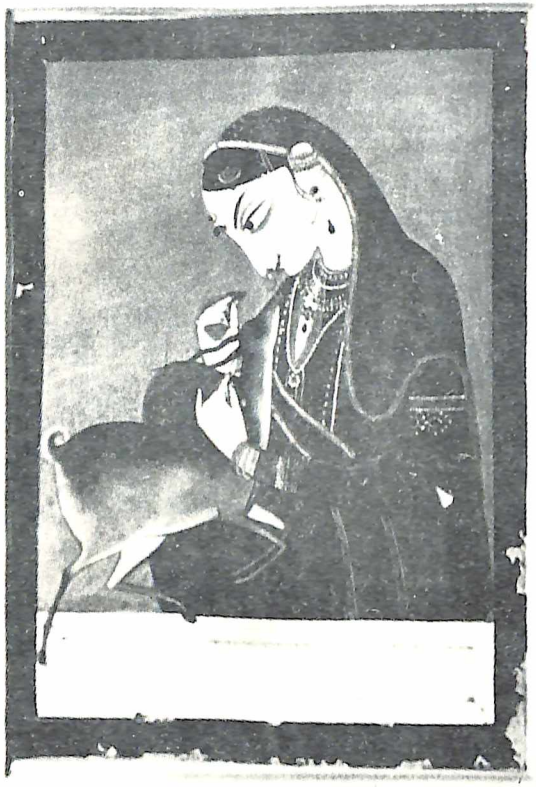


35. Krishna's dalliance with Radha
Jammu School, late 19th century
(Dogra Art Gallery)

36. Rāma Panchayat
Jammu School, late 19th century
(Dogra Art Gallery)

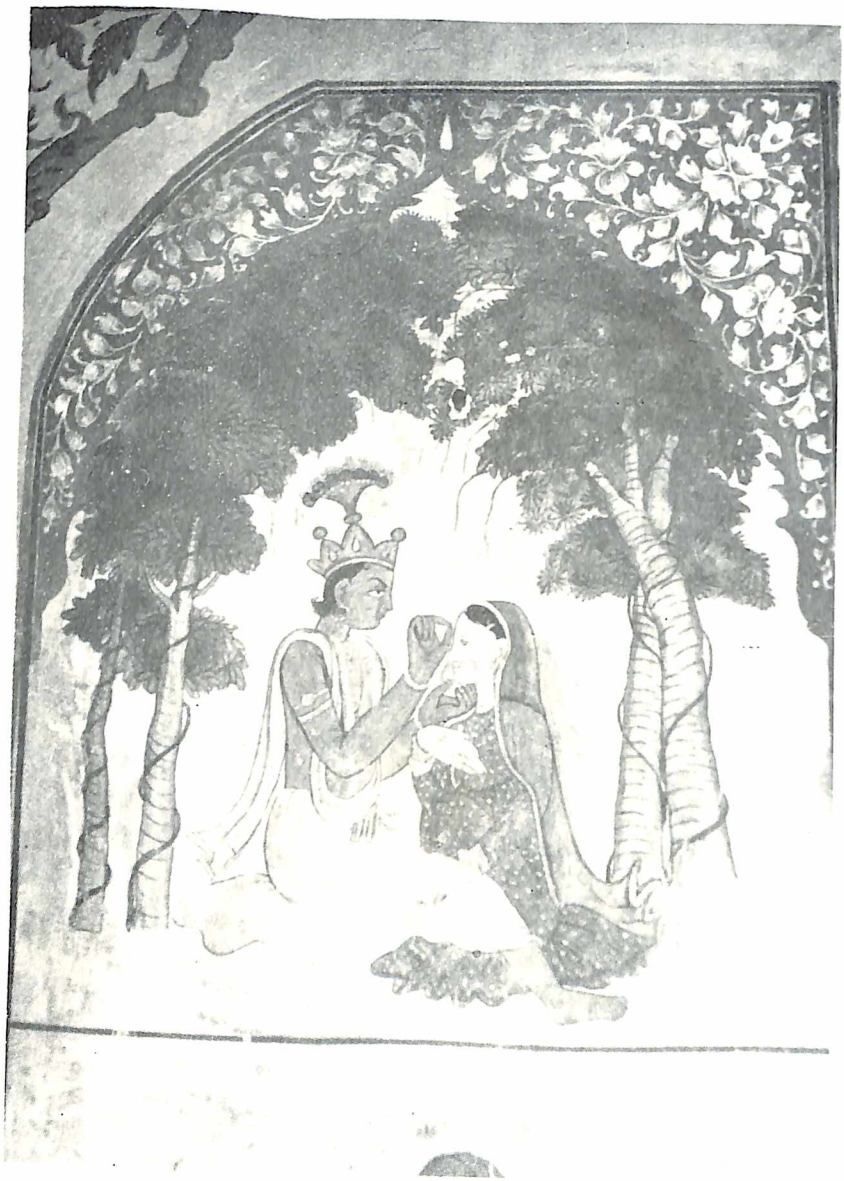
37. A Nāyikā Yawning
Jammu School, C - 1870-80

38. A lady beside a lotus tank
Jammu School, late 19th Century
(Dogra Art Gallery)

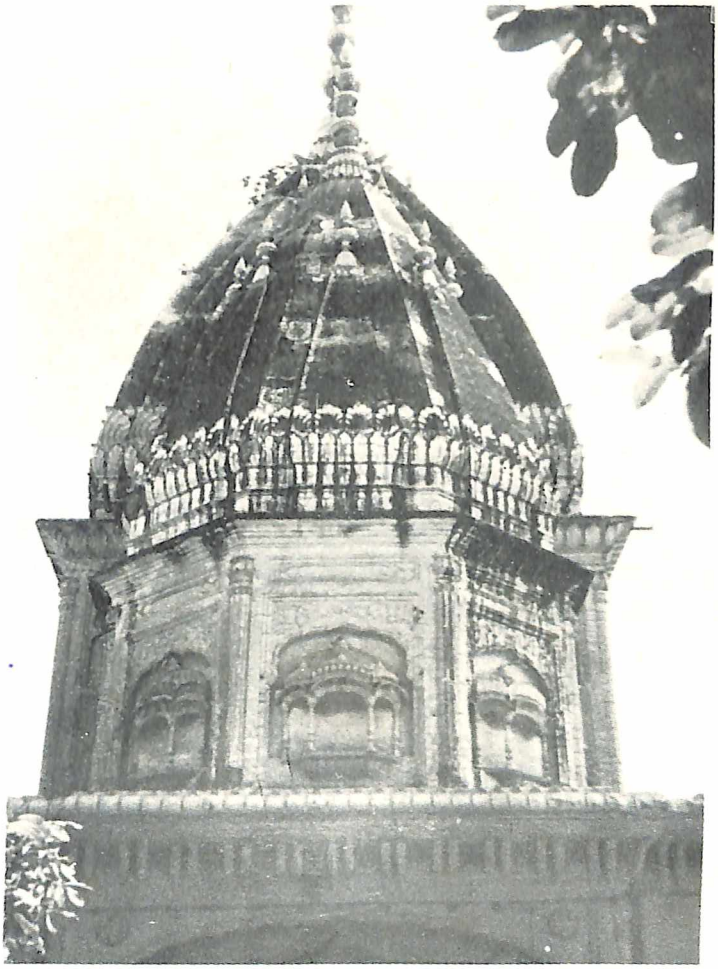


39. A Nāyikā playing with a doe
(Dogra Art Gallery)
Jammu School, C - 1860-70

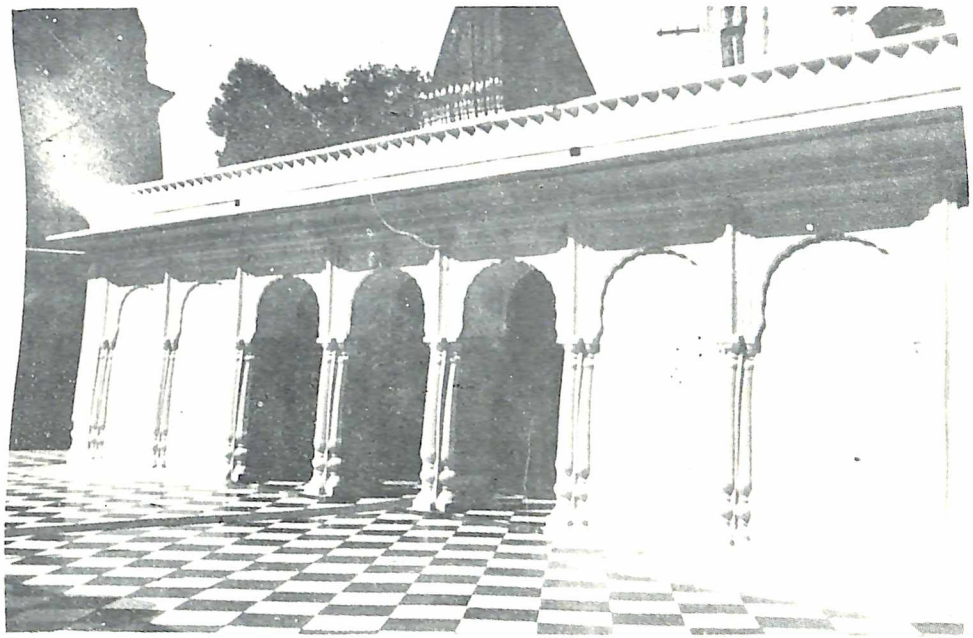
40. A Nāyikā with a cup
Jammu School, C - 1860-70
(Dogra Art Gallery)



41. Krishna applying tikā to Radha
(A mural in annexee to Krishna-lila room, Bandrahli Rani's temple, Jammu)



42. Shikharas on mandapa and garbha-griha, Raghunāth temple, Jammu



43. Entrance to the mandapa,
Raghunāth Temple, Jammu

ception of theology has once again found ardent votaries under the patronage of Ranbir Singh. The most popular theme for text illustration was the ten incarnations of Vishnu on which some special manuscripts were also prepared under the title *Dashavatāra* or *Dashavatāra-kathā*. Two such manuscripts belonging to Ranbir Singh's period are in Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar. One of them is in decadent Mughal style by some Muslim artists who seems to have been adept in depiction of nature in all the minute details. But the figure work is clumsy and disproportionate. A large size Sanskrit manuscript of about 20 folios contains a miscellany of small paintings, probably a Kashmiri artist in Kashmiri idiom (Plate 18). In the painting reproduced here the artist depicts the legend of *Vārāhāvatāra* in a very conventional manner. The figure work in this case is quite proportionate and fine giving an impression of naturalness (Plate 19).

A *Bhagvadgita-mālā* manuscript in Raghunāth Temple Library depicts the opening episode of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Arjuna-vishād* and other important episodes. The conception in some cases is lovely, as for example in depiction of *Shés-Sāyi Vishnu* (Plate 20) and *Gaj-vimochana*. The use of white undulating line, contrasting colours and fluid line in depiction of figures is lovely and there is some effort to show depth or three—dimensional effect, which are characteristics of the later half of the 19th century. The effort at shading for depth reaches its perfection in another manuscript of *Bhagavatgitā-mālā* which depicts the ten incarnations of Vishnu in addition to some episodes concerning his eight incarnation in the form of Krishna. The depiction of *Varāhāvatāra* and *Narsinhāvatāra* is particularly perfect both from the point of view of iconography and art. The conception of depth of the perspective has been well-developed. Line is volatile and figure work is fine and naturalistic. The scenes are well balanced and conception of human, particularly female, beauty is ideal (Plates 22 & 23). It seems that the revivalistic style of manuscript illustration had reached its perfection under the patronage of Ranbir Singh.

The ruling clan traced their descent from the dynasty of Rāma; consequently, the pictures of Rāma or Raghunāth were much in demand in addition to those of Krishna, Siva, Durga and other deities. A few albums on *Rāmāyana* were also prepared for them. New themes on astrology and *Yogic* and *Tantric* science had also got recognition in painting and sets on *Nava-grahas* and *Kundalani* and *Tantric* occultism were also in demand. Some albums on the exploits of Durgā were handed down by Jammu artists. *Koka-sāstra*,

a Kashmir text on science of sex had become popular in this region. The four kinds of men and four kinds of women described in this text with regard to their physical appearance and sex appeal, also found representation in line and colour. A set on this theme lies in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.

Maharaja Rānbir Singh's interest in painting is further testified by a large number of miniatures collected in the Dogra Art Gallery, which belong to the late 19th century. Local artists descending from those of Raja Balwant Singh (1724-1763) and the offspring of the famous painter of his court, Nain Sukh, might have painted during Ranbir Singh's time but due to absence of signs and style admixture, their works can neither be sinlged out nor the names of the painters ascertained except for a couple of names. But it is sure that a certain family of Kangra painters headed by Nand Lal had migrated to Jammu. His two sons, Channu and Ruldu, and Hari Chand son of the former, were Ranbir Singh's contemporaries. Another artist, Narottam from Guler, was patronised by Raja Ram Singh, the second son of Ranbir Singh. Moreover, the fact that Ranbir Singh himself and his sons had married princesses from the royal houses of Kāngra, Lambāgrāon, Chambā, Sibā, Bandrāhl and others, numerous sets of paintings of various schools entered Jammu palaces as a part of dowry which brought the impact of outside styles on the characteristic Jammu style.

Arjan and Kanchan were other two painters in Jammu atelier which Jagat Ram, nick-named Chhuniā joined later, probably during the last year of Ranbir Singh's reign· Hari Chand, however, was the main artist of this group who attracted a large number of apprentices, Jagat Ram from Bhado Kishanpur being one of them. Hari Chand grafted Kāngra idiom on indigenous style of Jammu to create a charming blending of the two schools. He possessed a very delicate brush and produced very fine specimens of this hybrid style. 'His sparing use of retouching technique' showed some marvellous results. Some of his paintings are embellished to saturation and there is also some attempt at shading and modelling, marking the arrival of Western influence in the Hills (Plate 27). His paintings on Durgā and *Rāma-panchāyat* are a brilliant tribute to his art. The latter specimen (Plate 25) has a broad margin (*hāshia*) embellished with gold and floral designs and combination of green, pink and white colours giving an impression of Kashmir carpet design. The inner border is narrow bearing flower-creeper motif. The carpet, the four corner-triangles of the flat oval and the dresses of all the four figures are embelleshed with fine floral designs in minute details.

The figure work is realistic and well balanced. The faces in profile have Jamuite features handsomely designed with characteristic Jammu idiom. But pure Jammu style seems to have given place to a mixed style with some idioms borrowed from Kashmir and Guler schools. The painting on Krishna's delliance with Rādhā (Plate 24) is also marked by naturalness. The heavy clouds curling over pink-topped round, undulating hills, contrasted with groups of white flying swans and round trees depict Jammu landscape. Though features of Rādhā and Krishna are Kāngra—like yet the specimen can never be missed for a work of that school because of the predominant Jammu idioms.

Last of all, Ranbir Singh's reign is also marked by the coming of the influence of western style, a sign of the decadence phase of the art of miniature painting in the hills. The introduction of modern *sāri* as female wear fixes the painting to the last quarter of the 19th century and it seems to have been influenced by some specimen of oil painting. The unmistakable effort at modelling and depiction of scenary isolates the piece from the traditional technique and this can be easily placed in the group of modern primitives. Thus the painting during Ranbir Singh's reign falls into three streams—first, in pure Jammu *kalam*; second, in Jammu-Kāngrā-Guler mixed style; and third, a new modern idiom which breaks away entirely from the traditional schools.

Ranbir Singh's reign has left behind some specimens of wall paintings. Decoration of *baiṭhaks, diwānkhānās* (drawing-rooms) and *havelis* was a fashion among the aristocracy . Almost all the temples were provided with wall paintings on religious themes. It is not possible to identify buildings containing wall paintings which belonged to his reign, and murals in most of the temples have disappeared, except in Bandrāhli Rāni temple, Purāni Mandi and the Diwan's temple, Jammu. The Bandrāhli Rani temple contains remarkably well-preserved and tastefully executed religious murals. This temple was built by one of Ranbir Singh's Ranis and it represents the architectural as well as the mural art styles of his times. Along the outer wall of the temple premises there are double-storeyed rooms on all the four sides. A large entrance pierces the western wall. The settees of rooms on both sides of the entrance bore wall paintings. A room on the ground floor to the left of the entrance and two rooms on the upper storey, each on the left and right of the entrance, are profusely painted with floral and pictorial panels from top to bottom. A remarkable fact about this group of murals is that the south side contains paintings on Krishna theme, whereas the upper

room to the north depicts important episodes of the *Rāmāyana*. A small annexee to the southern room also contains some paintings set in the backdrop of floral cum geometric designs, all done in a masterly style of decorative art. Sprinkled among these *Rāmalilā* and *Krishnalilā* themes are a few murals on mythological subjects, such as Śiva-parvati, Ganesa, Vishnu and Lakshmi, *Gajamoksha*, and some secular legends. Most of the paintings, exhibit a force of faith inspired art with a transcendental thin mist of spirituality peeping out of the line and colour. Though the figures work is somewhat clumsy, yet the setting, the combination of colours and the expression of line marvellously captures the spirit of the theme which these religious myths are expected to portray. (Plate Nos. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20).

CHAPTER

10

The End of a Benevolent Kingship

Section A

Zeal for Public Welfare

Ranbir Singh had aspired to give the state a good administration and improve its economy. He made several reforms, remitted large amounts of money due in arrears from his subjects, removed a number of appressive taxes and levies. In addition he gave the people large amounts of money in subsidies, grants aud rewards; he introduced new industries and handicrafts, new crops and plants; encouraged cultivation, sericulture and horticulture; inspired social reform, nurtured secular spirit, patronised arts and literature and bred in his subjects respect for religion and worship. He had inherited an administration which was not properly organised and an economy quite out of gear. He wanted to set everything right. He could do this in due course of time had he been left to himself to put his plans to execution. He was not, however, left to himself. The British Interference conflicted with his plans. The British rulers thwarted the progress of his reforms. They intrigued with native population and tried to create troubles. The British officers, in Calcutta and at Lahore, in collaboration with the Anglo-Indian Press, sought to harass the Maharaja and present everything in Kashmir as

dark and oppressive. Their object was to frighten the Maharaja into sanctioning them liberal concessions and ultimately to abrogate the treaty of 1846 and usurp the Kashmir Valley for colonisation by the Europeans. This constant interference by British Officials in his external as well as internal affairs sought to create more confusion in his state which the Viceroy and his junta desired to utilise as a lever for black-mailing the Maharaja. To exhibit his goodwill the Maharaja had to agree to station a British Officer on Special Duty one each at Srinagar and Leh, who, as has been stated earlier, indulged in intrigues against the Maharaja. In spite of this all, Ranbir Singh seemed to be quite popular both with his people and with Europeans.

He was mainly, fond of sport, affectionate to his family, and simple and moral in his private, life.[1] And Mr. Drew has given a pleasant picture of how this Chief, in the old fashioned way, so liked by the people and so conducive of good relations between rulers and subjects, used to sit daily in public *darbār* in full view of his people, receiving and answering his people's petitions.

This system of holding open Darbar was quite a useful exercise for the people. "If it does nothing else", observed Sir Francis Young Husband, "it teaches the people good manners, for they learn from observation of others how to comfort themselves in high society".[2] These *darbārs* were also an education of no small value. Here they discussed men and events. They learnt character, heard outside news, and it was "surprising to see how much more native intelligence, dignity and character men brought up in these conditions have than the school-bred men of today".[3]

Ranbir Singh's administration was required "to remove the terrible effects of many centuries of mismanagement, and especially of the harsh cruel rules of the Afghāns and Sikhs"[4] under whom condition of the people had greatly deteriorated-cultivation had decreased; the people were wretched and poor; justice had become a commercial commodity and could be purchased by those who could pay for it. These were few men of respectable and few men of wealthy appearance; and there were almost prohibitive duties levied on all merchandise imported or exported. By Ranbir Singh's

1. Young husband Sir Francis, K.C.I.E., *Kashmir Described*, reprint, Sagar Publications, Delhi, 1970, p. 174.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid*, p. 176.

endeavours for over a decade some slight improvement had taken place by the early seventies. The labouring classes were well-fed and well clothed and fairly housed.[5] Both men and women were accustomed to do hard and continuous work. Though their standard of living was not high, but they certainly had enough to eat. Prices were surprisingly low, and a rupee would buy 80 to 100 pounds of rice, or 12 pounds of meat, or 60 pounds of milk. Fruit was so plentiful that mulberries, apples and apricots near the villages were left to rot on the ground. And fish near the rivers could be bought for almost nothing. In addition to cheap living and abundance, crime of all kinds was rare, "chiefly because of the remembrance of the terrible punishment of Gulāb Singh's time and partly because of the system of fixing responsibility for undetected crime on local officials.[6] Drunkenness too, was almost unknown. About half a lakh of rupees was spent upon education, and another half-lakh on repairing the paths. An attempt was also made to assess the amount of land revenue at a fixed amount.

"In Kashmir there was tyranny of the worst kind," observes a British artist who painted for Ranbir Singh and his son in 1877, "and for ages the people have been ground down by their rulers. But every body allows that the present Rajah is a kindly, well-disposed man, who has done his best to modify the system he found on his accession to power".[7]

The artist, however, makes a shrewd observation on the nature of the oppressed people— "still, when people have been ruled with kicks and stripes oft, it is difficult at once to do better";[8] And he narrates how Maharaja Ranbir Singh dismissed his *wazir* once and tried more pacific measures; "but after a time things came to a stand-still, for people would not pay except on compulsion; and so the old Vizier, with his energetic policy, was reinstated".[9] But everything was now rendered much milder, and punishments were tempered to the "shorn Kashmiree." The British were impatient with Ranbir Singh's reforms, and they ignored the fact that evolution of society could not be accelerated much beyond its nature course which in Kashmir was exceptionally slow because of its shut-up geographical situation. Sometimes, the best intentions of the reformers and humanitarians

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
7. Prinsep, Val. C., *Imperial India* (*A Journal in 1876-77* A.D.), Chapman & Hall, London, p. 233.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 333-34.

come to naught as the people do not prove receptive and naturally remain docile to new things they do not comprehend. Ranbir Singh had therefore to go slow in Kashmir although he had desired an overnight change for the better. His anxiety for the betterment of his people was great and he told Sir Richard Temple that he "was conscious of many defects, and that as soon as he had leisure from the affairs of Jammu, he would go to Kashmir himself and introduce several reforms; adding, that he felt himself responsible to God for the care of his people".[10] The Maharaja was, at the same time, "most laborious, and held two Darbārs a day, at which all petitions were heard."[11] Petitions were dictated previously to the *munshi* who wrote them out and read them afterwards. Ranbir Singh thus sought to render justice prompt and cheap and made himself easily available to the generality of the people—the two basic duties which an ideal Indian ruler would most fervently cherish. Like also mortals, however, Ranbir Singh too had his failings in this field.His "great fault" was "his weakness of character—perhaps good nature—which makes him a prey to all kinds of people, religious or otherwise. He is surrounded too by members of one family and that in itself is apt to kept things in agroove".[12]

In one of his rejoinders to the Government of India, Maharaja Ranbir Singh himself sums up the achievement of his administration, challenging the Governor-General to see for himself "the progress made in all our departments". He writes :

"The administration of my State is . . . improving daily so much so that notwithstanding the fact that the country is covered with forests and the inhabitants are armed mountaineers and uncouth, the crimes of society marauding have never been committed and the crimes of wilful homicide, murder and burglary are also very rare. The police is improving from day to day. The trade has increased to three times its value in the past years. The population of the country as well as the cash contracts are all on the increase..."[13] And the cause for this all round progress, according to the Maharaja was that "I personally superintend all state affairs".[14]

However, it was not all sunshine and plenty during his reign. It has also its shades and glooms. The country was still very far indeed from what it ought to have been. The means of communi-

10. Temple, Sir Richard, "*Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*", Vol. II, p. 94.
11. Prinsep. Vol. C., *op cit.*, p. 334.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *File No. 1 of* A.D. *1873 Folio 8*, Old Engg. Records, SAR (J).
14. *Ibid.*

cations were rough and rude that men instead of animals had to be used as beasts of burden. Even the new assessment of the land revenue was much higher than what was levied in the neighbouring British province of the Punjab. There was still much waste land which the people were unwilling to put under cultivation, "because under the existing system of land revenue administration they could not be sure that they would ever receive the results of their labour".[15] The critic, however, does scanty justice to the efforts of the Maharaja when he writes: "A cultivator would only produce as much as would, after payment of his revenue provide for the actual wants of himself and his family because he knew by experience that any surplus would be absorbed by rapacious underlying officials".[16]

Ranbir Singh announced numerous concessions to those who reclaimed waste land.[17] He also encouraged cultivators to return to their lands and to rehabilitate their deserted villages. Proclamations were published to that effect and circulated extensively throughout the Punjab and the State. Numerous cash prizes and rewards were promised for that purpose.[18] With a view to better the lot of the cultivator the State Government introduced sericulture. The production was purchased by paying cash price on the spot and cash prizes ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 were offered for the varying quality of the best produce.[19] Ten other prizes of Rs. 50 each were distributed. The villagers were also given encouragement to grow vines and prepare wine.[20] With the object probably of securing better public health Maharaja Ranbir Singh exhorted farmers to rear at least one cow each family.[21] He also gave the farmers option to pay land tax in cash or kind according to their convenience.[22] Above all, he left it to the free will of the cultivators to accept the new system of assessment or to prefer the one in vogue before 1879. In order to ensure against famines the State Government adopted the famine code of the Government of India. Moreover, the grain dealers of the Punjab and Srinagar were assured of state purchase of

15. Young husband, Sir Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.
17. *File No. 215, Document 7 of 7 Magh*, 1924 (A. D. 1867), Persian Records, SAR (J).
18. *Ibid.*
19. *File No. 215 of S. 1916* (A. D. 1859) *Document No. 13*, Persian Records, SAR (J).
20. *File No. 215 of S. 1916, Document No. 20*, Persian Records, (SAR) J.
21. *Ibid*, *Document No. 21*, SAR (J).
22. *File No. 1 Circular No. 18*, of (A.D. 1883) Old Eng. Records, SAR (J

their unsold stocks on profitable price, in addition to the promised rewards and remittance of octroi duty. These and such other measures went a long way in restoring public confidence in Ranbir Singh's administration. Much of the oppression and odium of the administration was removed and people experienced benefits of a progressive and lenient rule for the first time in their history.

In matters of trade their were still the impediments of former days. Upon every branch of commerce there was a multiplicity and weight of exactions. "No product was too insignificant, and no person too poor to contribute to the State. The manufacture of production of silk, saffron, paper, tobacco, wine and salt were all state monopolies.[23] The sale of grain was also a state monopoly, but the state sold grain at an extraordinarily cheap rate.[24] At a later date Ranbir Singh relaxed state trade of grains to some extent. For a region like Kashmir such regulations were necessary and even modern governments in this state have to take resort to similar arrangements. Ranbir Singh was in some respects precursor of our present rationing and state trade in grains. No government can now be considered efficient without practising these devices.

Taxes, however, were extraordinarily heavy during the early part of Ranbir Singh's reign when old system was allowed to continue unhampered. On the manufacture of shawl much restrictions were placed. "The wool was taxed as it entered Kashmir; the manufacturer was taxed for every workman he employed, and at various stages of the process according to the value of the fabric; and, lastly, the merchant was taxed before he could export the goods, the enormous duty of 85 per cent advalorem. Butchers, bakers, carpenters, and even prostitutes, were still taxed and coolies who were engaged to carry loads for travellers had to give up half their earnings."[25]

Section B

The End

The last years of Ranbir Singh's life were quite unhappy. The ghastly famine of 1877 had undone most of his efforts to improve the lot of the people of Kashmir Valley where he had, through various ordinances, remittances and lavish endowments of money,

23. Young husband, Sir Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

ameliorated the condition of the labouring classes especially the shawl-weavers and the farmers. But the famine obliterated all the good results and plunged the entire valley into the jaws of starvation, death and scarcity. The Maharaja made great exertions to save his people from total annihilation and mobilised all his finances and personnel to fight out the situation which was brought under control in two years. The hostile Anglo-Indian press, however, tried to make capital out of the situation and published incredible stories of official neglect, and even accused Ranbir Singh's government of drawing his poor Muslim subject by the boat loads, some 1,50,000 persons in the Vular lake "to save his grains". Even a forged *parwānā* of the Maharaja ordering this diabolical deed was produced in support of the allegations. The anti-Dogrā element in Kashmir and in British officialdom joined hands against the good intentioned Maharaja who had done everything that was humanly possible to alleviale the sufferings of his people, irrespective of caste or creed. The British Officer on Special Duty took a prominent part in instilling this intrigue against the Maharaja. Ranbir Singh took the challenge seriously and compelled the British Government of India to appoint a mixed commission to inquire into the truth of this hedeous allegation. A large number of witnesses, who had been promised *jāgirs* and rewards by the arch-intriguer, the British Officer on Special Duty, were examined, and matter seemed to assume a serious aspect, so much so that the Maharaja's ruin seemed imminent. But the ruler was so popular, that as soon as people came to know of the real intentions of the British Government and its organised conspiracy, the very men, who were alleged to have been drowned in the Wular Lake, presented themselves in life and blood before the commission, exposing threadbare the plot of a few Kashmiris and the British Officer on Special Duty. The British plot to regain possession of Kashmir ended in a complete fiasco.

Although Ranbir Singh was exonerated from these concocted allegations, yet the ill-effects of the famine on his subjects and the false accusations and intrigues left a deep impact on his mind. His health was already breaking down and the deadly ailment of Diabetes from which he suffered, aggravated. For the last few years on his life he continued an ailing man still devoted to his kindly duties and religion. In 1881 he was taken seriously ill. But even when he was struggling between life and death, the welfare of his subjects was uppermost in his mind. He felt particularly sorry for the impoverished condition of the shawl-weavers, caused by the trade-depression. Fauq quotes the Maharaja telling his physician Ghulām

Hassan, a noted *Unāni-hakim* from Oudh, that previously Lucknow was the main customer of the famous Kashmir shawls and carpets and almost 50% of the product was sold there. After the extinction of the ruling dynasty of *Nawābs*, the other blow to the shawl trade was caused by the Fanco-Prussian War of 1870. "Now we have," concluded the failing Maharaja, "a heavy stock of shawls which is rotting and we have to manufacture cheaper stuff to complete the market."[26]

Similarly, his concern for the economic uplift of his people was so great that he procured a copy of the Chinese book on industries in China at a considerable cost. It was in Chinese language and the Maharaja was getting it translated into Persian in the hope that when published in that version "the useful knowledge contained therein will be of utmost benefit for the people of the State."[27]

In the early months of 1885 his condition turned grave, and in the spirit of a resigned man he called back the family of Pandit Rām Krishan, brother of Pandit Jallā, the preceptor and adviser of Raja Hira Singh (Prime Minister of the Sikh State of Lahore from 1843 to 21 December 1844), and rehabilitated them in Jammu in June, about two months before his death. The Pandit had fallen a victim of court intrigue, because in the capacity of Audit and Accounts Officer of the Maharaja he had brought to book several top-ranking officials who were mulcating state funds. All of them joined hands against the Pandit and looked for an opportunity to oust him. Their chance came when the heir apparent, Miān Pratāp Singh, developed boils on his body. Pandit Rām Krishan's rivals sent for a *Chelā* who was handsomely bribed and told what was expected of him. The exorcist declared that the ailment of the *Yuvarāj* will not be relieved unless the murder of Raja Suchet Singh was avenged. It was universally known that his murder had been brought about by the intrigues of Pandit Jallā. Raja Suchet Singh's soul had become agitated since Jallā's brother had been appointed by the Maharaja to an influential office. The remedy suggested by the *Chelā* was the appeasing of the departed soul by pulling down the house of Pandit Jallā and erecting the deceased Raja's *Samādh* on that spot, and finally, by externing all his relatives and descendants living in Jammu.[28]

26. Fauq, Mohammad Din, *Hikayat-i-Kashmir*, p. 115.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Balauria, Thakur Kahan Singh, *Swaneh Umari Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, pp. 19-20.

The unsuspecting Maharaja was deceived into carrying out all the suggestions and the helpless Brahmin family was driven out of the state. The injustice of the action dawned on the Maharaja a few months before his demise and he was quick enough to make adequate amends by restoring the family to their former status at Jammu in June, 1885.

Afterwards, the British agents reported Ranbir Singh a dying man. The hour of death approached on the 12th September. The Maharaja called his three sons to his presence at 4 PM and enjoined them to live in peace with one another, and told Pratāp Singh, the eldest, to complete the good works he had begun.[29] "He also ordered that the contract for the sale of liquor in Jammu city, recently sold for 40,000 rupees, should be cancelled, and the sale of spirits forbidden as heretofore; and further directed that the toll levied on persons crossing the Tawi by ford should be discontinued and that firewood and vegetables should for the future be allowed to enter Jammu free of duty".[30] After this he became insensible, and then being removed from his bed to the floor, he breathed his last at 4-30 P.M. Universal regret was felt at his loss, reported an eminent daily newspaper.[31] The same newspaper published a graphic description of the funeral procession of the royal corpse.

The funeral procession moved from the Palace about 9 A.M. The whole city turned out to attend the funeral. It was a solemn and imposing spectacle. The roofs of the houses standing in the streets, through which the procession passed, were covered with spectators. The road from the Palace to the Goomut Gate was lined with troops on either side. First came the soldiers with reversed arms, clad in their Khaki uniforms, next a number of flags or banners; after these more soldiers; then followed a few more banners; next the led horses of the late Maharaja with splendid trappings of gold and silver, among them was a favourite Goot or hill pony which he was fond of riding. The horses were very showy animals with arched necks and proud action; then came the native musicians and drums, next the bag-pipers, who ludicrously performed 'Highland Laddie' or some lively air inappropriate to the occasion. After these came the band. Following the band appeared the bier. A canopy of satin emblossomed with gold was held over it by four men, whilst the corpse itself

29. *Sir Oliver St. John, Officer on Special Duty at Srinagar to the Foreign Secretary, Govt. of India,* dated 16 Sept. 1865.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *The Pioneer,* Allahabad, dated 14 Sept. 1885.

was wrapped in a similar kind of rich stuff. When the procession reached the golden temple oe Sonahri Mandir the bier stopped for a moment at the entrane, when garlands of flowers were showered upon it from the multitude assembled on the house-tops. This was a favourite temple of the deceased Maharaja's, where he used frequently to perform his devotions. The crowed which followed was very great. Handfuls of gold and silver coins were scattered among the people throughout the entire route, The bier was taken through the Goomat Gateway to the spot where some Ranees of the Maharaja were burnt, not far from the riverside. The funeral pyre consisted of sandalwood. The corps was reverently laid upon it, the torch was applied to the pyre, and amongst the weeping of the assembled multitude, the mortal remains of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the Ruler of Kashmir, were in a short time reduced to ashes. In addition to other gifts, the late Maharaja ordered sixteen lakhs to be distributed among certain temples and the poor.[32]

The British Officer on Special Duty gives a little more intimate and closer account of the funeral obsiquies, and writes that next day (13 Sept) his body was burnt on the banks of the Tawi in the presence of large multitude. The body is said to have been enveloped originally in forty coverings of shawls and other rich stuffs interspersed with gold coins and jewels of great value placed there by the women of his haram, though thirteen of the wrappers only were taken off by the attendant Brahmins before the body was placed on the pile. The whole of the Maharaja's wardrobe, jewels and riding horses, with seven elephants, a number of cattle, besides a very large sum in cash, the whole estimated at from five to ten lakhs of rupees were set aside for distribution among the Brahmins or to be sent to the holy men in the neighbourhood. Business was suspended, the shopkeepers dealing only through one bed of their shopdoors. The Government employees, including the solidiers, shaved their heads and faces, excepting only Sikhs, Mahommedans, Brahmins and Rajputs connected with the Maharaja by marriage. While garments were worn by all, ornaments of every description were laid aside. The period of mourning extended over thirteen days. On the 25th September, the new Maharaja took his seat in *darbār*, after he performed the ceremony of tying on his turban which is supposed to make the close of the period of acute grief. The morning was spent in distribution of gifts to the Brahmins on the spot where the Maharaja's body had been burnt. In addition to a large sum of

32. *Ibid.*, dated 18 Sept. 1885.

money, these gifts consisted of thirteen sets of every thing that had been used by the Maharaja in this world, including horses, cows and other domestic animals, but only one elephant. The remainder of the Maharaja's effects, with a sum of five lakhs from his private treasury, were retained to be added to the fund consecrated by him to the perpetual use of the temples, which fund already amounted to fifteen lakhs.[33]

Thus Jammu and Kashmir lost a philosopher-King who dreamt and acted with grace like Asoka and Akbar the Great. He was inspired by high ideals of a Hindu King. Had he lived before the rise of British power in India he would have left a deep imprint on the national annals of our country. He was a man of head and heart, imbibed by lofty aspirations. Extremely religions personally, he practised and encouraged secularism in public life and administration. His loss was keenly felt on all quarters. In addition to the formal messages of condolence sent by Queen Victoria of England and her Victoria in India, the Government of the Punjab paid in a Gazettee extraordinaire, a lofty tribute to His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh Bahadur, Knight Grand Commander of the most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Companion of Indian Empire, Sipar-i-Saltanat, Councillor of the Empress of India, Honorary General in the Imperial Army, Chief of Jammu Kashmir in the following words:

"He has long been known as an eminent patron of education and Eastern literature in the Punjab as well as his own territories. He has shown his friendship to the British in various ways, and amongst others by the abolition of vexatious imports, the encourgement of trade between his dominions and Central Asia, and the help offered to the British officers charged with duties in Gilgit and Yarkand. His princely courtesy and hospitality will long live in the recollection of the officers of the Punjab Government and those, who during the last eight and twenty years, have been visitors to Jammu and Kashmir."[34]

In special bulletin of their Journal, the Syndics of the Punjab University, Lahore, of which the late Maharaja was the first fellow, expressed their deep regret on the demise of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who was in their estimate "a kind-hearted, thoughtful, experienced,

33. Latif, Sayed Muhammad, *History of the Punjab, from the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Times*, Eurasia Pub. House Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1864, p. 621.

34. Punjab Government Records, Lahore, *Extra ordinary Gazettee*, dated 17 Sept. 1885.

and on the whole a popular ruler". The Journal counted the Maharaja's services to the cause of learning and education, and regretted that "the cause of the promotion of Oriental, especially Sanskrit learning, suffers an irrepairable loss in his death", and recollected that "to the Punjab University he had contributed over 93,000 rupees in furtherance of Sanskrit and of the promotion of literature and science through the medium of Oriental and Vernacular languages. A still larger sum was set aside by him for the edition and translation of Sanskrit texts; and numerous other schemes for the benefit of his country and of India will now die with him, unless his successors contentiously carry out his often expressed wishes".

Sir Walter R. Lawrence who knew Ranbir Singh intimately, admired in him the happy combination of pious religiosity and secularism, and found in him "A model Hindu Price devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but kind and tolerant to the Musalmans, to whom he allowed the free exercise of their religion".[35] Dr. Earnest F. Neve also found in Ranbir Singh" a just and tolerant ruler".[36] Highlighting the tolerant and secular spirit of the Dogrā ruler the contemporary newspaper, *The Tribune* wrote that "The late Maharaja was by no means a bigot, although a precise Hindu. While he built numerous temples and gave away ridiculous sums to religious mendicants, he also gave money to repair Mohammadan shrines and even to build Christian Churches."[37]

Ranbir Singh's religious tolerance was unreserved. The Jama Masjid at Srinagar, which was closed during the Sikh rule, since 1820, was thrown open for religious use, and the Maharaja even got constructed a water duct for ablutions in the mosque—a kind of manificence not even done during the Muslim rule of the valley. He got repaired the said mosque three or four times.[38] Ranbir Singh allowed opening of the mosque only on Fridays. A construction committee consisting of Khwajā Rahim Shāh, Ghafoor Shāh Naqashbandi and Azim Drabū was formed, who collected huge amount for its repair and Maharaja Ranbir Singh granted six thousand rupees for its repair. . . . Khwajā Rahim Shāh approached the Maharaja for further

35. Lawrence Sir Walter, R., *the Valley of Kashmir*, London, Henry Prowie 1895, p. 202.

36. Neve, Earnest Fredaric, *Beyond the Pir Panjal, Life among the Mountains and Valleys of Kashmir*, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1912, p. 73.

37. *The Tribune*, Lahore, dated 26 Sept. 1885.

38. Kaul, Har Gopal, *Twarikh-i-Guldasta-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), p. 206.

grant who sanctioned nine thousand rupees and out of this grant Lachmi Kuhl was repaired.[39]

In 1872, communal riots broke out in Srinagar between the Sunni and Shiā population. The Shiā houses and property were set on fire and the community suffered heavily. The Maharaja not only quelled the disturbances with a strong hand but also gave 2 lakh 80 thousand rupees as relief to the Shiās.[40]

Ranbir Singh was a man of many parts, quite unassuming, of simple and democratic habits, indefatiguable in his endeavours for his people's welfare and fervently devoted to justice, equity and humanism. He was "what may be termed, in comparison with the generality of Eastern princes enlightened, studious and fond of the society of the Pandits and other wise men. He was eminently religious. He was also a great encourager of education, liberally supported all religious works, and according to his lights desired "to act fairly and honestly to his people in this part (Kashmir Valley) of his dominion, alien as they are for the most part both in race and creed".[41] His private life seemed to be good. He rode out daily and was certainly "free from many frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the private conduct of Oriental Princes".[42]

He was universally acknowledged as the most popular ruler among his subjects, both in Jammu and Kashmir. He was a "typical ruler of the type that is now almost gone",[43] conscious of his duties and obligations towards his people, serving them in paternal spirit and keen to improve their, lot and gear up administration with ideals of service and promptitude. But unfortunately, as Francis Young Hausband observed, "he had not the officials capable of the immense labour required to remove the terrible effects of many centuries of misgovernment".[44] The whole country, in fact, was still in the grip of a grinding officialdom; and the officials, the remnants. of a bygone, ignorant and destructive age, when dynasties and

39. *Jammu and Kashmir State Research Biannual*, Vol. I, No. II, p. 361.

40. Pir Ghulam Hassan Khihami, *Tarikh-i-Hassan* (Persian), Vol. I, p. 494.

41. Wakefield, Dr. William, *The Happy Valley: Sketches of Kashmir and Kashmiries*, London 1879, p. 88.

42. Temple, R. *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir Sikkim and Nepal*, London, 1887, Vol. II, p. 139.

43. Young Husband, Sir Francis, Edward, *Kashmir Described*, London, 1909, rev. ed. 1924, pp. 175-76.

44. *Ibid.*

institutions and life itself were in daily danger...".[45] Inspite of the best intentions of Ranbir Singh and his sincere efforts some of the defects of administration could not be removed. And it was not surprising. It takes a long time to change the nature and temperament of an administrative system which is inherited from generation to generation with all its fa'lings.

However, Ranbir Singh's efforts in this field were untiring and inexhaustible and the foregoing account of his reign and his kingly aspirations reveal him to be a wise and benevolent, considerate and humane ruler, as successful in diplomacy and efficient in administration as a subordinate chief could be under the abnoxious, interfering, high-browed suzerainty of the foreign overlords. Inspite of the British intrigues to make some mischievous Kashmiris their tool to malign the Maharaja and his administration, Ranbir Singh's popularity among his Kashmiri and non- Kashmiri subjects never suffered. The Maharaja knew the dirty game of the British politicians who pretended to make themselves a party with the allegedly aggrieved Kashmiri population in order to rouse the latter against him on serveral occasions, but every time the bold Dogrā ruler exposed the plots publically. On several occasions he gave an open challenge to his adversaries and willingly submitted to public enquiry about unfounded accusations against him by Anglo-Indian press and imperialist British officials in collaboration with mechanising natives. Every time the accusations came out to be clever mechanisations and the Maharaja was found above board.

It was a clear instance of dash strengthened by innocence and wisdon that Ranbir Singh never bowed in face of unjust and unconstitutional demands of the British Government. He outwitted them in their self-seeking diplomacy and defeated them with the logic of constitution and legality. His plea against appointment of a Resident was irrefutable and logical enough to silence the British Viceroy and his diplomats on the issue. Every British effort to malign him proved him still more popular and respected in Kashmir as well as Jammu. His reign saw the most aggressive diplomacy of the nasty British rulers as regards Kashmir; and it also witnessed the recurring defeat of that diplomacy by the sagacity of Ranbir Singh.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie Esquire and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B.. one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.—1846.

Article 1. The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV, of the Treaty of Lahore dated 9th March 1846.

Article 2. The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3. In consideration of the transfer made in him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (*Nanukshahee*), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4. The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5. Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisiont of Articles V, VI and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore *Durbar* dated March 11, 1846.

Article 9. The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10. Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve *shawl* goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere *shawls*.

This Treaty of ten Articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar, this sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of *Rubbee-ool-awal* 1262 *Hijree.*

(Sd.) F.Currie. (Sd.) H. Hardinge (Seal)
(Sd.) H.M. Lawrence.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.

(Sd.) F. Currie,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

Source : C.U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. X.*

Appendix 2

Translation of treaty concluded between Dewan Basti Ram on behalf of the Kashmir State and Mangyal Ishe on behalf of the Lhasa State in the year A.D. 1858.

The glorious Heaven appointed Priest and Lord at his Royal residence of Lhasa, and the glorious Maharaja's royal Government conclude in (this) the "water-tiger-year" the following peace treaty. The former agreement of the "water-ox-year" according to which the mutual Ambassadors were to meet in Ladakh, remains in full force, as has been case hitherto.

(Now as to) the subject of the Treaty which places both courts on equal footing : (According to) the order of His Highness the Priest and Lord of Lhasa (are appointed) the (native) Governor of Nyestod and the Lama attendant to the Dalai Lama and commercial agent Namgyal Ishe as substitute for the Gurgang (chief of a camp) and for the Dzangskan of Rustaq and Lama attendant Shalsing Sigmed (acts) as substitute, the steward Legspa Isering.

Further according to the order of His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Wazir Sahib Zorawar (are appointed) the Lakaka *Thanadar* Bastiram Singh Sahib and the Thanadar Isirjoo Mangal Singh, Munshi Kardar Isetan Dorji (with respect to the meeting of those both parties) in a friendly spirit, (this is) an extract of their instructions.

Lhasa and Tibet with all their numerous valleys appoint their own rulers for administration within the boundaries, passes and approaches of His Highness the Dalai Lama's dominions. His Highness's Government will have to give orders for the expulsion of the enemy. If, however, invade His Highness the Maharaja's

dominions, His Highness the Maharaja will have to order the expulsion. As a matter of course each nation has to protect itself and consequently has to subdue external enemies.

As to interior affairs, whilst both Governments will entertain friendly relation with each other, their noble and perfectly sincere desire will be at all times.

As regards the higher classes, a good behaviour as to all subjects a happy existence.

The trade in tea and *lena* (fine wool) will be carried on in all fature as was done in the past.

Though the two separate States they form one common dwelling only, and all subjects without difference will live in closer fellowship than that of brothers; their happiness will increase and a genuine change unanimously and fully agreed upon (will take place) which shall abide for ever.

This is written Treaty, for which the Glorious God is called as witness, and which was duly and irrevocably concluded.

Ratified in the current *Besak* month of the year 1915 or the Tibetean earth-horse year on the (date omitted).

By the Ladakh Thanadar Bastiram Singh and Thanadar Israjoo and Mangal Singh with their seals.

(Munshi Kardar Isetan Dorji's seal)

(The Governor of Myestod's seal)

The commercial agent (of Lhasa) and Lama attendant for the Dalai Lama Namgyal Ishe, his seal (the acting) as substitute of Gorgong. The steward Legsla Isering's seal (as acting as substitute for the Dzengspan of Rudok and Lama attendant Skalzang Jigmed.

TRUE TRANSLATION

(Sd. Illegible)

CAPTAIN

Assistant Resident in Kashmir, Leh.

Source: Foreign External A, February 1900; Nos 17-18, as quoted in '*The Northern Frontier of India*' by S.C. Bajpai, p. 169.

Appendix 3

Adoption sanad granted to Maharaja Ranbir Singh Bahadur

1862

Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of several Princes and Chiefs of India, who now govern their own territories should be perpetrated, and that the representation and dignity of their Houses should be continued. I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire repeat the assurance which I communicated to you in the Sialkot Durbar, in March 1860, that, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption of an heir into your 'Highness' House, according to its usage and traditions, will be willingly recognised and confirmed by the British Government.

Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagements thus made to you so long as your Highness is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the Treaties, Grants or Engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

Dated 5th March, 1862. (Sd.) CANNING

Source: State Archival Repository, Jammu, Old English Records.

Appendix 4

Population of Jammu & Kashmir in S. 1929 (1873 A.D.)

	Hindus			*Mohammadans*			*Budddists*			*Sundry Castes*			*Total*		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Woman*	*Total*	*Men*	*Woman*	*Total*
Jammu	2,23,122	2,14,152	4,37,271	1,74,271	1,63,273	3,37,544	...	...	...	43,742	42,515	86,277	4,41,137	4,19,940	8,61,075
Kashmir	38,719	22,413	61,132	2,19,454	2,08,034	4,27,488	...	...	...	1,754	1,472	3,226	2,59,927	2,31,919	4,41,846
Ladakh, Skardu and Gil-git	2,566	3	2,569	41,947	39,715	81,662	10,784	9,470	20,254	...	...	...	55,297	49,188	1,04,485
Poonch	3,011	2,713	5,724	36,024	35,818	71,842	...	...	...	...	...	...	39,035	38,531	77,566
Total	2,67,418	2,39,281	5,06,596	4,71,696	4,46,840	9,18,536	10,784	9,470	20,254	45,496	43,987	89,483	7,95,394	7,39,578	15,34,

Figures based on a chart published in the J & K State Administration Report for Samvat years 1929 and 1930.

Appendix 5

Details of the Census of Jammu Province for 1873

	Hindus	*Mohammadans*	*Other Castes*	*Total*
Jammu City	28,391	11,804	1,622	41,817
Jammu District	77,083	62,069	25,858	1,63,010
Jasrota	58,279	10,243	4,832	73,354
Manawar	82,298	1,02,890	7,816	1,93,004
Nowshehra	19,754	89,184	2,950	1,11,888
Riasi	54,358	23,455	20,222	98,035
Udhampur	53,739	30,054	14,397	98,190
Ramnagar	63,372	7,845	8,560	79,777
Total	4,37,274	3,37,544	86,257	8,61,075

Details of the Census of Kashmir Province for 1873

Srinagar City	1,32,681
Srinagar District	46,731
Anantnag District	48,205
Patan District	50,084
Kamraj District	70,859
Muzaffarabad District	70,337
Pampur Town	2,092

Anantnag Town	5,656
Shopian Town	2,353
Sopore Town	3,973
Baramulla Town	4,444
Shopian District	52,169
Bijbihara Town	2,262
Total	4,91,846

Details of the Census of Frontier Districts, 1873

Ladakh	20,621
Zanskar, Dras, Suru and Skardu	58,030
Gilgit	25,834
Total	1,04,485

Figures based on J & K Administration Report for s. 1929 and s. 1939 by Dewan Kirpa Ram.

Appendix 6

Distribution by commands of the Jammu & Kashmir State Army prepared by Mr. F. Henvey, Officer on Special Duty

Name of Regiment or Corps	*Name of Officer*	*Number of Men*
	General Inder Singh's Command	
Raghu Pratap	Inder Singh, General	690
Bijli	Baj Singh, Colonel	721
Raghunath	Nihalu, Commandant	821
Lachhman	Devi, ,,	955
Bijraj	Gangu, ,,	785
Govind	Lakhu, ,,	841
	General Labha's Command	
Rudr	Chunnu, Commandant	685
Shibnabh	Manji, ,,	581
Ram	Bhagat, ,,	526
Fateh	Nathu, ,,	695
Body-Guard	Chandu, ,,	527
Artillery	Nam Singh ,,	750
	General Chattar Singh's Command	
Hanuman	Khoji, Commandant	715
Partap	Deviya, Colonel	533

Ramgol	Laha, Commandant	585
Balbhaddar	Durga Parshad ,,	755
Narain	Balbhaddar, ,,	590
Devi	Daru, Colonel	856
Raghubir	Suraj, Commandant	925

General Shankar Singh's Command

Sherbacha	Pujar Singh, Colonel	425
Basheshwar	Ganesh, Commandant	599
Suraj	Narain Singh, ,,	735
Narsingh	Devi, ,,	455
Gopal	Mata Singh, ,,	845
Cavalry	Hari Singh, Colonel	996
Irregulars	Bakshi Mool Raj, Commandant	2995
Irregulars	Dewan Sant Ram, ,,	3311
Sepoys at Forts		4595
Nizamat Regiment	Wazir Hari Singh, Colonel	1255
Police	Baswa Singh, etc	483
Gagur	Suba Khan, Commandant	300
	Total	30,480

Sialkot
22nd December, 1882

(Sd.) F. Henvey
Officer on Special Duty
in Kashmir

Copy in Old English Records, SAR(J).

Appendix 7

Translation of the *Dastur-ul-Amal* sanctioned by Maharaja Ranbir Singh on 1st, Sawan, 1939. (*Original in Persian*).

This State has been created by my honoured father, the late Maharaja Sahib Bahadur (Gulab Singh Ji), which is confirmed by the Treaty of the 16th March 1845 A.D., (Treaty of Amritsar) in our possession, without anybody else having any claim on it, and which State by the Grace of Shri Narain Ji, is progressing day by day, it appears necessary to enact a *Dastur-ul-Amal* (law) for my heirs and successors so that they may live in peace, and each may enjoy his own rights and privileges without interfering in the rights and privileges of the others, and to avoid any possibility of a quarrel arising among them. I, therefore, enact the following rules which should be acted upon by my heirs and successors:

Article I. According to the old custom of our family which is in force and which has been approved by our ancestors, the first son or the *Tikka* of the Maharaja of Jammu, succeeds the *Gaddi* of the State. The second, the third and other sons remain obedient to him and would be entitled to *jagirs* which may be bestowed upon them. In case the *Tikka* begets no son either of his own or by adoption vide Article 40 of this Regulation, then the second, the third and the fourth sons will succeed the *Gaddi* of the State successively according to their right, and thus their sons will also have a right of succession, according to their order of precedence as defined. But during the life-time of the legal successor, they will always remain obedient to him and render him such service as he may require. If the *Tikka* renounces his own religion, or becomes unfit to tule on account of losing his mental balance, or becomes a victim of an uncurable disease

or has no son of his own, the succession will pass to the second son or the third son, respectively.

In case the son of the *Tikka*, who succeeds the *Gaddi*, be a minor, a Council of Ministers will remain responsible for the administration of the State during his minority. The Council shall be composed of five worthy and experienced well-wishers of the State, having not less than fifteen years of service in the State. Those having longer service shall be given preference.

Article II. The second and third sons will be entitled to a share of the income of the State (excluding the income of Jagirs and *Dharmarth*) on the following scale:

2nd son to receive Rs. 2,000 per every lakh of income i.e., 2 per cent.

3rd son to receive Rs. 1,500 per every lakh of income i.e., $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

4th son to receive Rs. 1,200 per every lakh of income i.e., $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

5th son to receive Rs. 1,000 per every lakh of income i.e., 1 per cent.

This Article will apply to the sons of duly wedded Maharani only.

Article III. When their (shareholders') sons will inherit the property of their fathers, they are to pay 5 per cent from the above-mentioned shares as tribute to the State and retain 95 per cent for themselves.

Thus their—

Grandsons are to pay 10 per cent as tribute, and retain 90 per cent for themselves.

The fourth generation will pay 20 per cent as tribute and retain 80 per cent for themselves.

5th generation will pay 30% tribute and be entitled to 70%

6th	,,	,,	,,	40%	,,	,,	,,	60%
7th	,,	,,	,,	50%	,,	,,	,,	50%
8th	,,	,,	,,	60%	,,	,,	,,	40%
9th	,,	,,	,,	70%	,,	,,	,,	30%
10th	,,	,,	,,	80%	,,	,,	,,	20%

The future generations will be allowed upto the maximum limit of Rs. 10,000, and will be awarded the little of Raja.

Article IV. If the Ruler or *Gaddinashia* of the State extends the territories he has inherited from his father, only his son will get the benefit of the enlarged area. His brother will not have any claim on it.

Article V. On consideration of the income of the State the shares are fixed, but in future if the income of a share be reduced, the other shareholders will have no concern with it.

Article VI. Jagirs have to be bestowed after taking into consideration the actual income of the State at that time. The same will be entered in the *Patta.* In case the income of the *Jagir* increases afterwards, the State will have no additional claim for tribute.

Article VII. I have already bestowed *Jagirs* upon Mian Ram Singh and Mian Amar Singh, after taking into account the income of the State. The *Sanads* and orders issued in this regard will remain good for ever.

Article VIII. It is incumbant on all the members of the ruling family to decide with mutual consultation all the important and other matters of common interest such as deaths and other wordly affairs concerning the family, according to the usage. In case of disagreement, the matter should be referred to the Ruler, whose decision in Council should be enforced.

Article IX. The salaries of the sepoys and other employees of the jagirs should not be fixed at rates higher than that of the parent State. In case an emloyee facing some charges absconds and seeks service in another part of the State, he will not be absorded without permission of his former master. This restriction will not apply to the sons of such employees.

Article X. Rules and Regulations framed by our ancestors for our family matters will be respected.

Article XI. Except the cases of capital punishment and the imprisonment for life, which should be referred to the Ruler for orders, the shareholders (Jagirdars) shall be free to decide all other cases within their jurisdiction.

Article XII. Matrimonial relations should be confined to the old families with whom we have such relations from times immemorial. In case matrimonial relation is desired with a new family, it should be done only after mutual consultation. Matrimonial relations with the forbidden families should in no case be established.

Article XIII. Every member of the family should show the highest consideration to the related families.

Article XIV. Every member of the family should consider the friends and well-wishers of another, as his own friends and well-wishers; similarly the enemies of one should be considered as enemies of the others. Especially the enemies of the State should be regarded by every member as his bitterest enemies and none should have anything to do, either orally or in writing, with the enemies of the State. Everybody should remain a well-wisher of and loyal to the State.

Article XV. As the State has been awarded to us by the British, it is incumbant on us to afford all help in men and material to them whenever they ask for it.

Article XVI. If the Ruler of the State asks for you help, you should send him all your armed force. If the area of the war adjoins your frontiers, you should also help him with *coolies*, rations and other requirements. If the war be away from your frontiers, then the State will meet all the expenses on rations etc. provided the war continued for more than six months, then even the pay will be disbursed by the State.

Article XVII. Rule of law should prevail in the State and the Courts should decide cases strictly according to the law. Force or tyranny should never be applied.

Article XVIII. The *Jagirs* and *Muafis* granted by the State within the area falling in the *Jagirs* now granted to you, will remain intact and should not be disturbed. But in case of *Jagirs* and *Muafis* granted in lieu of service conditions, you would be entitled to receive such service from the recipients.

Article XIX. If any of your servants tries to sow the seeds of discord among the members of your family, or is guilty of any act which may injure the Ruling family or cause any harm to it, should, after due enquiry and proof, be dismissed from service.

Article XX. You should not allow your subjects or servants to take part in any revolt against a member of the Ruling family.

Article XXI. *Sati* and female infanticide have been forbidden in the State. You should ensure that these orders are strictly complied with in your *ilaqa*.

Article XXII. It will be incumbant on all the members of the family to strictly adhere to the religious and others cusotms pertaining to the respect and honour of the family.

Article XXIII. If the Rajas happen to be present in the State capital on any (Hindu) Festival, they should present *Nazars* to the Ruling Chief. The second son will present 31 *Budkees* and the third son will present 21 *Budkees* of gold. But on the occasion of the Dussehra each Raja, wherever he may be, will send the present of a horse with gold trappings.

Article XXIV. With the reduction in the *Jagir* a corresponding reduction will be made in the amount of the *Nazrana.*

Article XXV. It will be incumbant on the Ruler of the State and the other Rajas to limit the number of their attendants on the occasion of their visit to each other. The maximum number should in no case exceed 500. The less the better so that unnecessary and avoidable burden is not put on the State or the *Jagir* visited, as the case may be. The maximum stay should also be limited to three days and only three days' rations should be accepted as *ziafat.*

Article XXVI. If any of the Rajas has constructed a house or laid out a garden in any other part (of the State) at his own expenditure, it would remain his personal property.

Article XXVII. The State must give due respect to these who have been honoured with the tille of Raja.

Article XXVIII. The Raja himself or his son and grandson will be seated on a *Gadela* whenever they come to attend the Durbar, others will be seated on the *Chadder.*

Article XXIX. When the Rajas visit the State Capital, their reception will be regulated as below:

(1) A high ranking official of the State will recieve the Raja one mile away from the city.
(2) The heir-apparent will come down from the (high-surfaced) *Durbar* to receive the Raja.
(3) The Ruler himself will stand up to receive the Raja.
(4) The Rajas will present the *Nazars* according to the following scale:

2nd son 21 gold *Budkees.*
3rd son 15 gold *Budkees.*
4th son 11 gold *Budkees.*

(5) The *Sirwarna* on behalf of the State will be on the following scale:

2nd son Rs. 225.
3rd son Rs. 125.
4th son Rs. 100.

(6) *Ziafat* of the feast will be given by the State on the following scale:

2nd son Rs. 2,100.
3rd son Rs. 1,700.
4th son Rs. 1,100.

(7) The gun-salute will be regulated as under:

2nd son 17 guns.
3rd son 15 guns.
4th son 11 guns.

(8) During their stay in the State capital the Rajas will be entitled to rations on the following scale:

2nd son (for personal use)

Rice Basmati—one maund
Maida—20 seers
Ghee—10 seers
Edible oil—10 seers
Spices—2 seers
Sugar candy—5 seers
Sugar—5 seers.
Almonds, Kishmish and cocoanuts—5 seers
One goat per day.

Rations for his servants will be paid in cash or given in kind:

To the second son for 600 servants; for 100 horses and two elephants.

To the third son besides getting the ration for his personal use at the scale prescribed above will recieve rations for 500 servants, 75 horses and two elephants.

The 4th son besides getting rations at the above prescribed scale for his personal use, receive rations for 200 servants, 15 horses and one elephant.

For the receptions of the son of a Raja when he visits the State Capital the protocol will be as follows:

The heir-apparent will receive him at the end of the *farash*. The Ruler will stand up to receive the *Nazar* of 11 gold *Budkees*. *Sirwarna* from the State will be Rs. 101. *Ziafat* in cash and rations etc will be given by the State at one-half of the above scale.
The son of the 2nd son will be entitled to a salute of 15 guns while the son of the 3rd son to a salute of 11 guns.

For the reception of a grandson of the Raja when he visits the State Capital the protocol will be as under:

A High ranking officer will receive him at the end of the *farash*. He will present a *Nazar* of 5 gold *Budkees* and the Ruler will stand to receive the *Nazar*. *Sirwarna* from the State will be Rs. 51. The scale of *Ziafat* and rations etc. will be 50 per cent of the scale admissible to the son of a Raja.

Article XXX. Protocol on the visit of the Ruler to the Jagirs of the Rajas.

The Raja's son will receive the Ruler at the frontier of the Jagir. If he has no son, or the son being a minor, a Senior officer of the Jagir will receive him. He himself will come one mile from his residence to receive the Ruler.
2nd son will present a *Nazar* of 31 Budkees.
3rd son will present a *Nazar* of 21 Budkees.
4th son will present a *Nazar* of 17 Budkees.
Salute—21 guns
Cash to be presented by 2nd son Rs. 1,100
Cash to be presented by 3rd son Rs. 900
Cash to be presented by 4th son Rs. 700
101 earthen pots of sweetmeats and one horse with golden saddle.

On his departure the Ruler will present a *Khillat* the value of which should not be less than Rs. 500.

Article XXXI. If the heir-apparent visits on the *Jagirs*, he will be entitled to one-half of the reception for the Ruler.

Article XXXII. The *tambol* between these families will be as follows:

On the occasion of the marriage of Raja's daughter: Rs 21,000
On the occasion of the marriage of Raja's sons: Rs. 2,500

On the occasion of the marriage of the Ruler daughter, the Raja will present a *tambol* of Rs. 5,000 and on his son's marriage Rs. 2,500.

Article XXXIII. If he goes to marry in some other State, the *tambol* will be as fixed above. In case a *Dola* is brought then the Raja will present a *tambol* of Rs. 2,100 only.

Article XXXIV. If the *barat* of any other Raja passes through his territory, the concerned Ruler or Jagirdar will arrange a feast for the *barat*, during its stay in his territory.

Article XXXV. The heir-apparent will receive the some honour as is due to his father. And they will be seated in accordance with their ranks.

Article XXXVI. The Rajas will be entitled to receive from the State clothing according to the following scale:

Warm Clothing on the Dussehra Festival

2nd son—three suits
3rd son—two suits
4th son—two suits.

They will also receive *Zarri* suits on the above scale if they are present in the Capital in summer.

Zarri clothes will also be supplied to the Ranis as usual and clothes will be provided for the maid servants of the Ranis.

Article XXXVII. If the State engages the Raja or his sons in its service, he will be entitled to a salary which should be fixed by the State.

Article XXXVIII. It will be incumbant on the Rajas to appoint Councils on the pattern of the State, to administer their Jagirs.

Article XXXIX. As there are certain duties which devolve upon the son entitled to inherit the estate of his father. Therefore the father has aright to disinherit his son in case the son turns disobedient and is not submissive.

Article XXXX. A son can be adopted according to our law and custom. The son of the rearest relative should be adopted and in no case, when the son of the nearest relative is available, should the son of a distant relative adopted.

Article XXXXI. If my son (refers to his two sons granted jagirs), live in their own Jagirs, then the State shall supply the rations for their servants left behind in Jammu.

Article XXXXII. When the heir-apparant (Pratap Singh) succeeds me, the two younger sons (Ram Singh and Amar Singh) will be given the little of Raja.

Article XXXXIII. On the occasion of their *Gaddinashini*, they will also be entitled to receive Rs. 5,00,000 (Five lakhs) from the State.

(Signed and Sealed)
Maharaja Ranbir Singh

Dated 1st Sawan, S. 1939.

Source: State Archival Repository, Jammu, Persian Records, File No. 423 of S. 1939.

Appendix 8

Minutes of Lord Lawrence, 5th August, 1868

The following is the full text of the minutes recorded by the Governor-General of India, Sir John Lawrence in August, 1868 just eleven years after the event in which he was closley connected in the capacity of the then Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, with the aid given to the British Government by Jammu and Kashmir State during the uprising of 1857:

"Maharaja Gulab Singh was always on unpopular chief, both among the people of the Punjab and among the English community. I need not here explain the grounds of this feeling but so it was. And as the crises in the mutiny culminated in consequence of the protracted resistance of the mutineer troops in Delhi, the cry waxed loud and vehement that Maharaja Gulab Singh was only watching events; that he was in strict alliance with our enemies and only bided his time to strike with effect.

"At this time I may mention that it is no exaggeration to say that our position in the Punjab was to a great extant, at the Maharaja's mercy. From the Banks of Indus to those of the Ravi, the mountain countries in his hands march with our northern boundary. The few British troops in the province were for the most part gathered together at Peshawar, Lahore and Multan, and were surely tried in holding in country, maintaining our supremacy, and overawing our enemies. Had Maharaja Gulab Singh turned against us, his ability, his experience, would have produced a great reaction against us, to say nothing of the material means at his disposal. "At this time writing from memory I think it was towards the end of July or beginning of August, when I had been pressed

by the officer commanding at Delhi to send to Delhi every native soldier on whom I could rely, in addition to the British troops on their way down, that I sent for Diwan Jawala Sahai, the minister of Maharaja Gulab Singh. The Diwan was a subject of the British Government, and his family for the most part lived in British territory. I had known him since 1846, and had reason to believe that he was well affected to the British Government and had considerable confidence in him myself.

"After sounding him very fully as to the general State of affairs, the feeling of the people in the Punjab, I spoke to him regarding his master, the Maharaja, and gathered from him that he was well disposed towards the British Government, and prepared to remain faithful. On this I went a step further and after alluding to the rumours which were flying about, I suggested that the Diwan should move the Maharaja to offer to send a selected body of his hill-men to help in the siege of Delhi. The Diwan at first hesitated, but on my explaining what an advantage it would prove to the Maharaja to come forward in such a crises, provided His Highness really meant to act up to his engagement, the Diwan entered into my views, and agreed to proceed to Jammu and ascertain the State of affairs; to communicate with the Maharaja, should things appear to be propitious; and in short, to arrange, in that case, for the march of the troops. Within a week I not only heard that all had been properly managed, but that six picked regiments of infantry, two troops of cavalry, and a battery of artillery, amounting in all to rather more than 3,000 men, were on their way to Jullundur.

"No sooner was this known than all kinds of stories inpugning the faith of the Maharaja were circulated through the country. It was said that these troops had in their ranks/many Oudh men, relatives and friends of the mutineers, and that it was a settled plan that the whole force would go over the enemy on their arrival at Delhi, just as the Sikh regiments under Raja Sher Singh had joined Diwan Mul Raj at Multan in 1848.

"These stories made me very anxious, though I did not believe them. On the one hand, it was quite possible what was predicated might happen; on the other hand, the political importance of the move on the part of Maharaja in our favour was very great, to say ncthing of its value in the military point of view. To hesitate then, to stop the Jammu troops was to show the Maharaja that I distrusted him, and perhapes to induce him to change his views and join against us.

"I again sent for the Diwan, and again to ascertain his views and the intentions of the Maharaja. The Diwan assured me most solemnly of their fidelity, and challanged any one to point out an Outh soldier in the Jamu force. I determined to trust in these assurances, and arranged with the Diwan that one of his brothers, a soldier of some experience, should be placed in charge of these troops on the part of Maharaja, while I sent my own brother, Captain R.C. Lawrence, and six selected British officers, on my side with these regiments.

"By the time the Jamu troops had reached Jullundur, I rode over and inspected them. I talked to all the leading native officers; saw that, as far as I could percieve, they were all hill men; that they were in good spirit willing to go on as fairly equiped as I could expect. I sent them off the next day by rapid marches. From the time they crossed the Satluj, cholera broke out in their ranks, notwithstanding which, and the great heat of the season of the year, particularly trying to men fresh from the mountain ranges, they pressed on without hesitation or murmur.

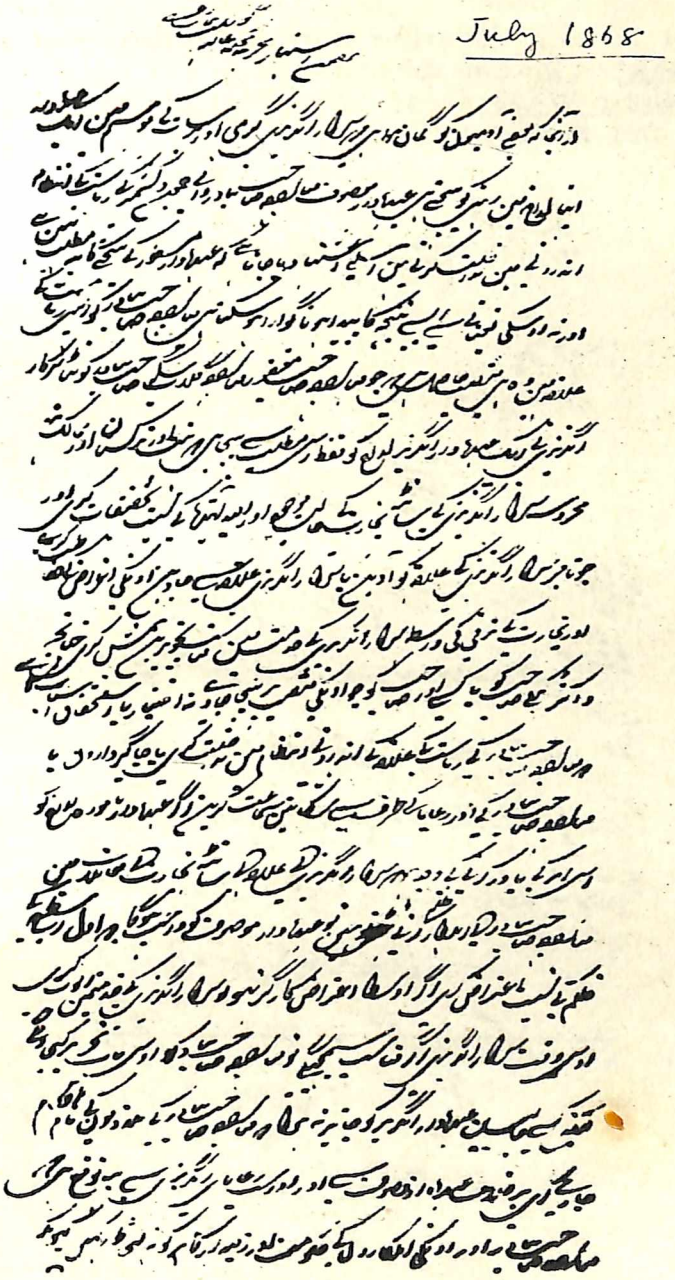
"During the storm of Delhi, the portion of these troops of Maharaja formed part of the column which attacked the advanced position of the mutineers in the suburbs of Delhi, with the view of making diversion from the main object, the assault of the city—In this affair the Kashmir troops suffered considerably.

"The very day after Delhi, fell, Dewan Jawala Sahai's brother, the commander of these troops and the Maharaja's Vakil, both died of cholera, which circumstance greatly depressed the minds of the native officers and men. On this being reported to me by telegramme, I urged the Diwan to send off his younger brother to supply the place of the brother who had fallen at his post. To this request the Diwan at once acceded; the young man mounted the mail cart that night, and within twenty-four hours was doing his duty with the troops of his master. I think that these were services which demand my grateful acknowledgements and the consideration of all Englishmen."

Appendix 9

Copy of Public Notification of Maharaja Ranbir Singh Vindicating illegal acts of the British Officer on Special duty,
Mr. Celey.

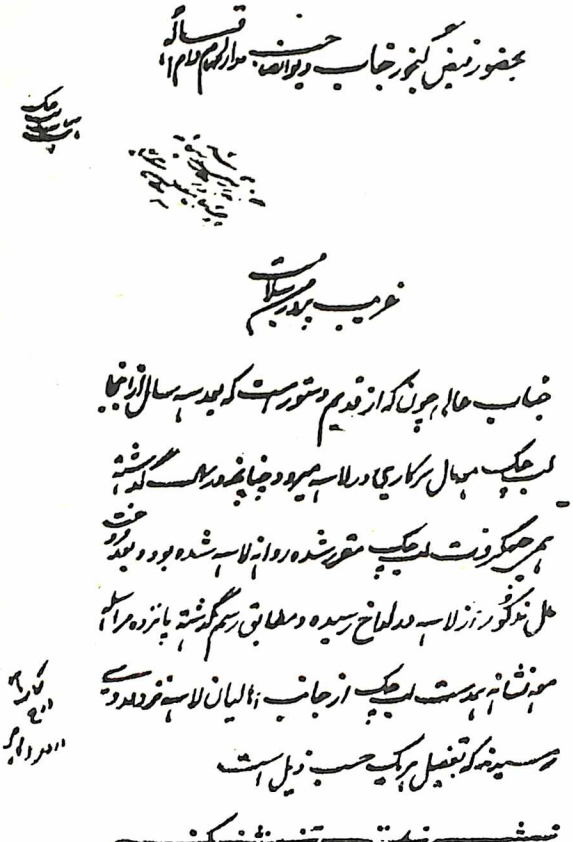
July 1868

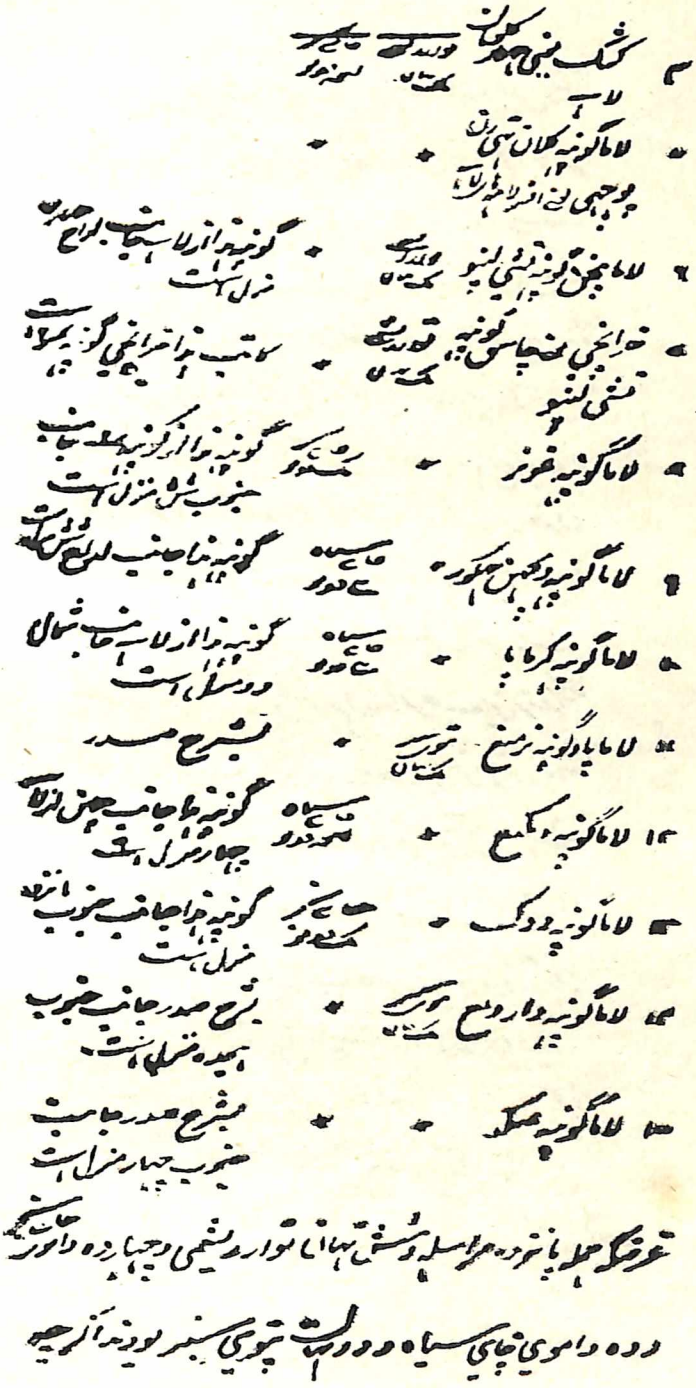


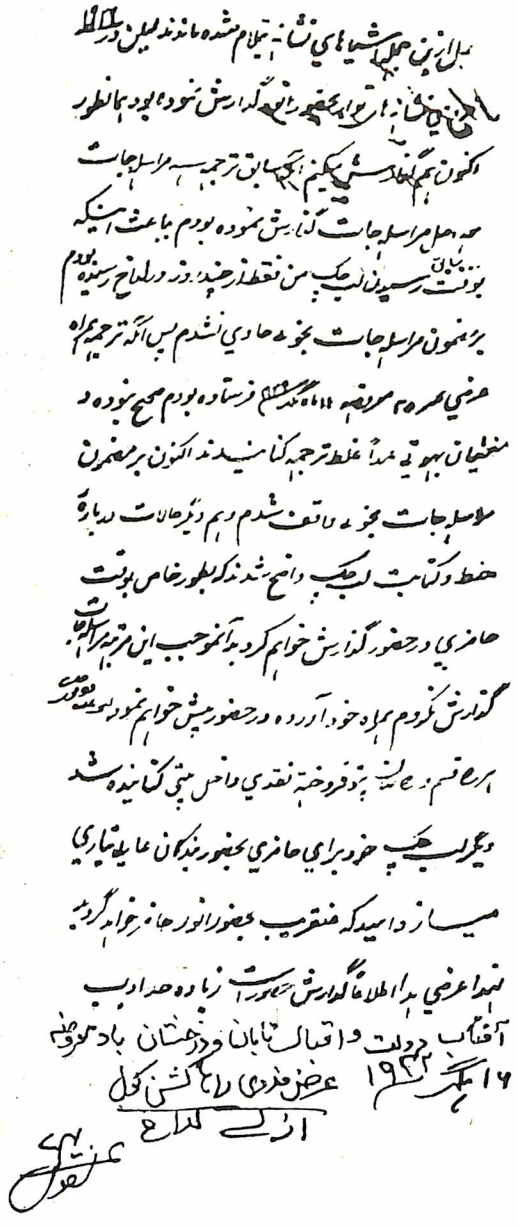
(Source : File No.215/E Persian Records, SAR (J)

Appendix 10

Official letter, bearing detailed statement concerning 'lab-chak' mission to Lhassa.
From Wazir-Wazārat of Leh to Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.



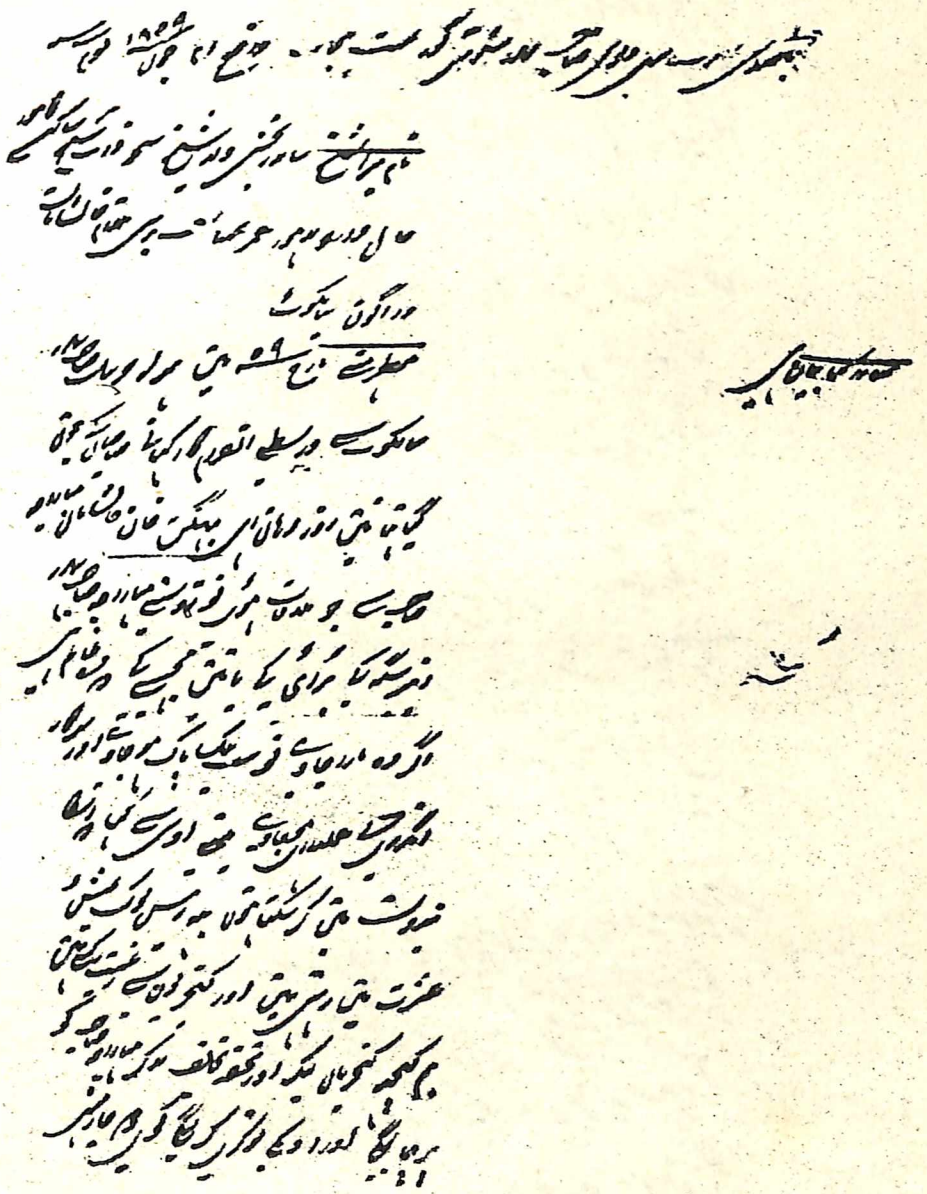




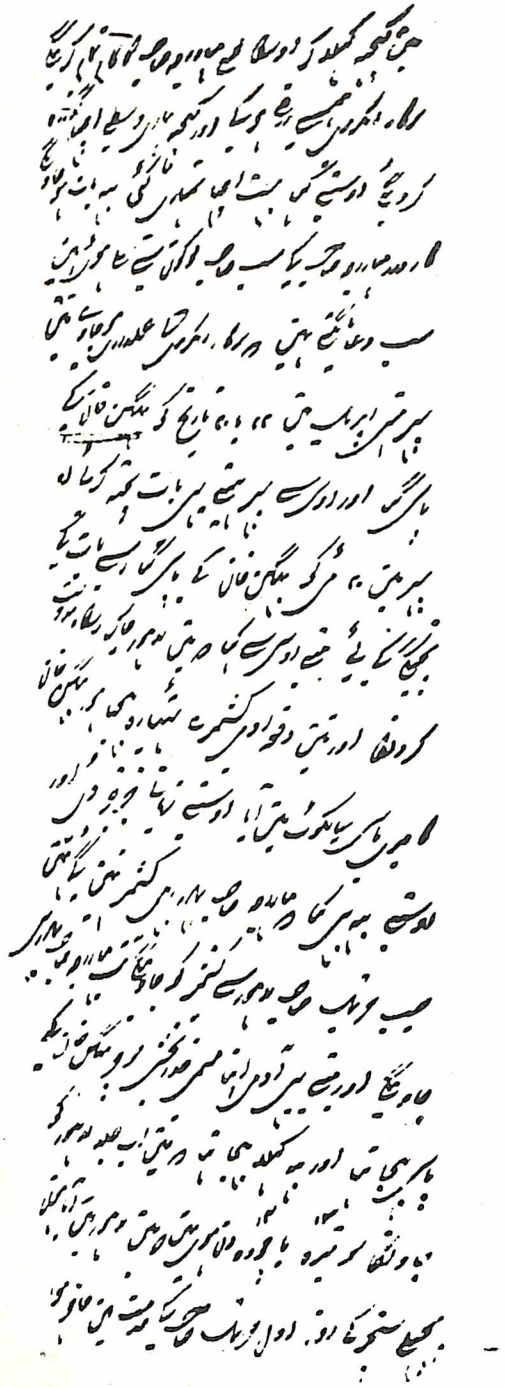
(Source : File No.980 of S.1942, Persian Records, State Archival Repository, Jammu)

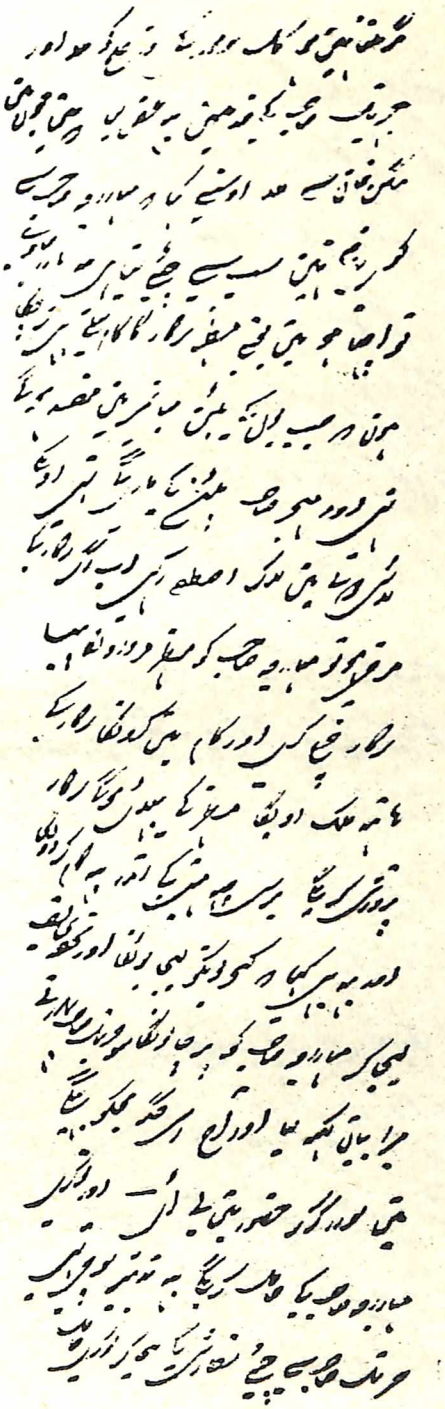
Appendix 11

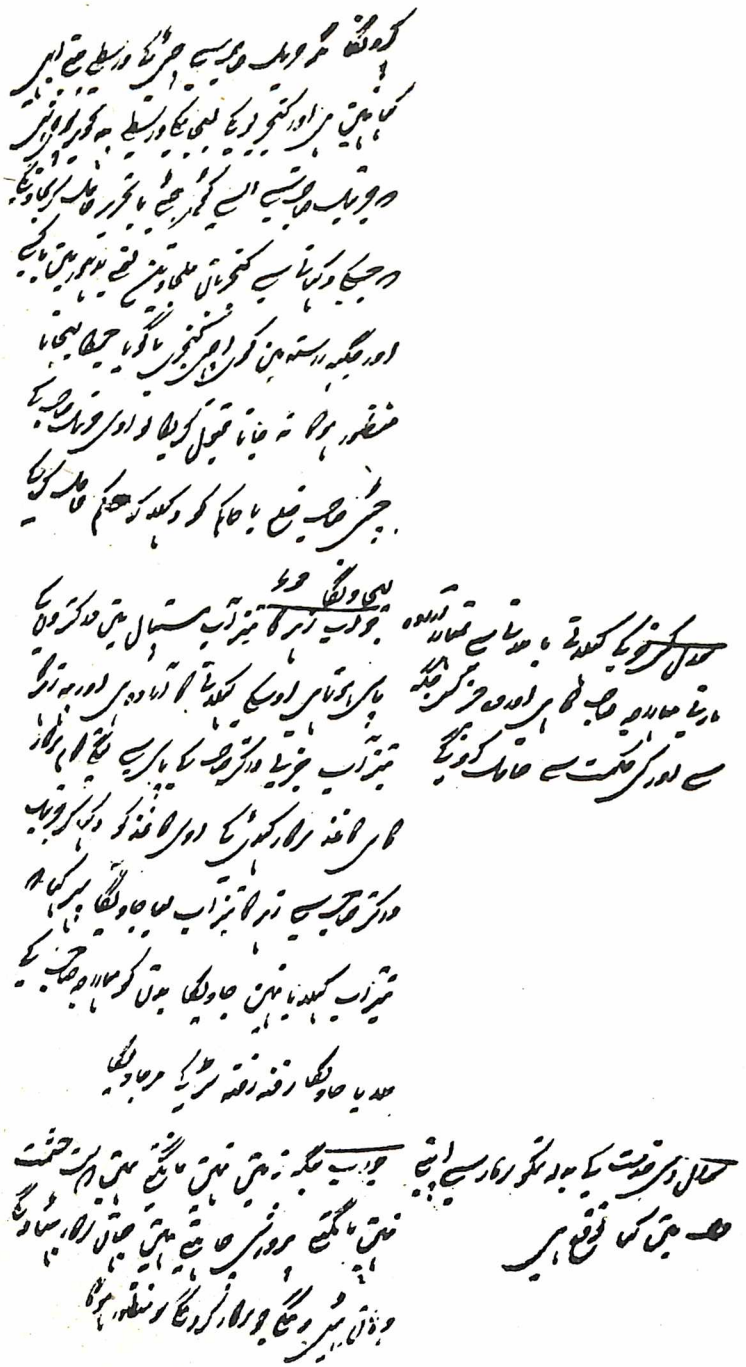
Statement made by one Sheikh Salar Bakhsh of Sialkot Cantonment and Mian Hathu in connection with the conspiracy to murder Maharaja Ranbir Singh

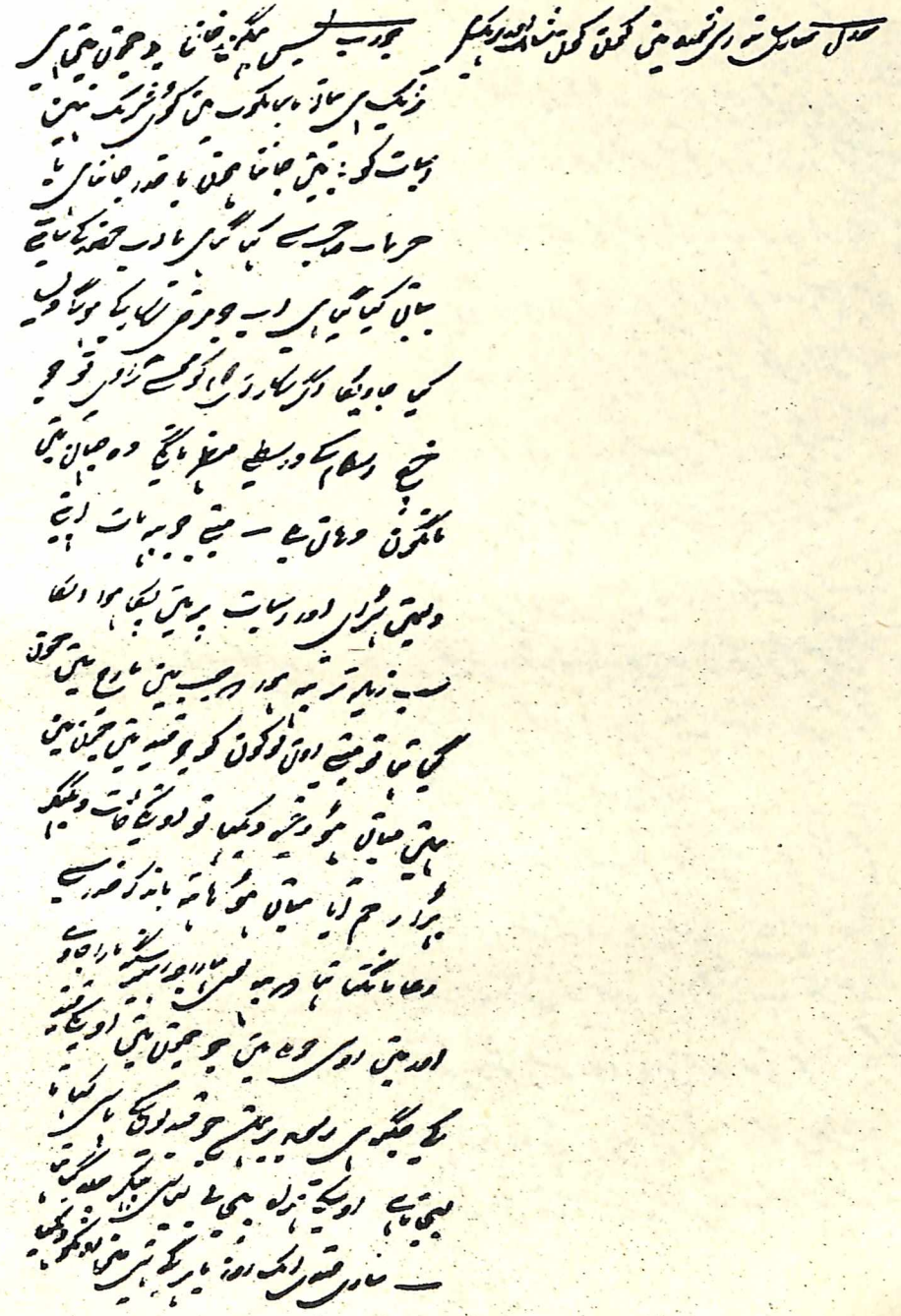


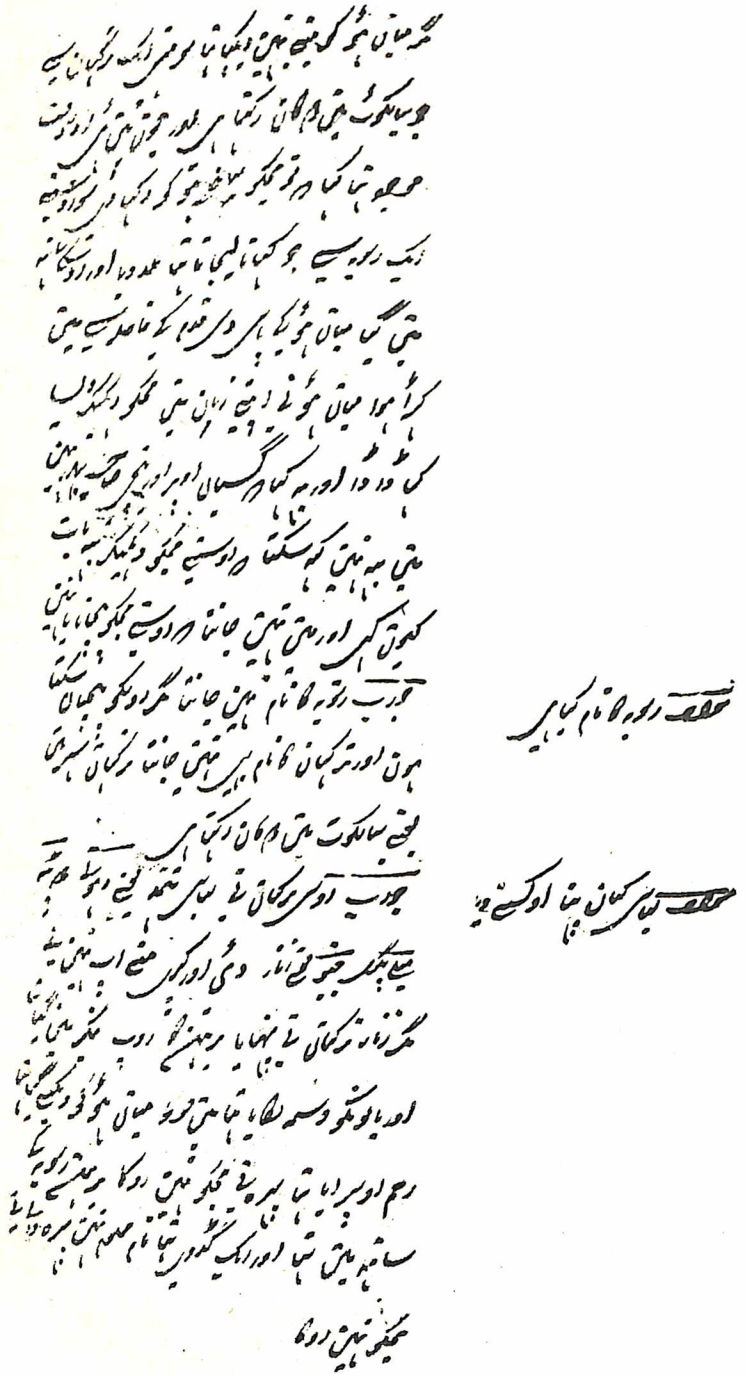
(Source : File No.208 of 1854 A.D., Persian Records, State Archival Repository, Jammu)

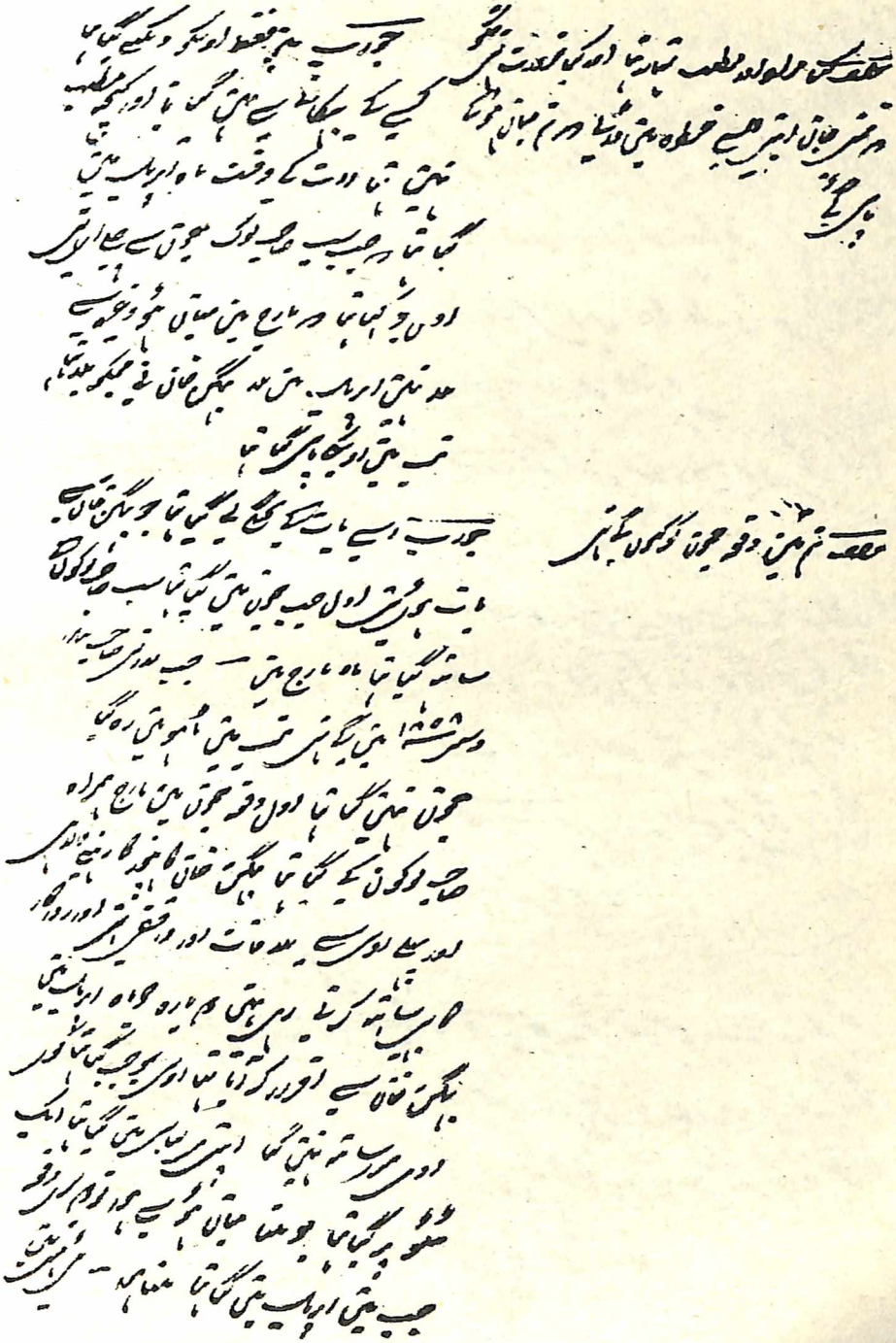


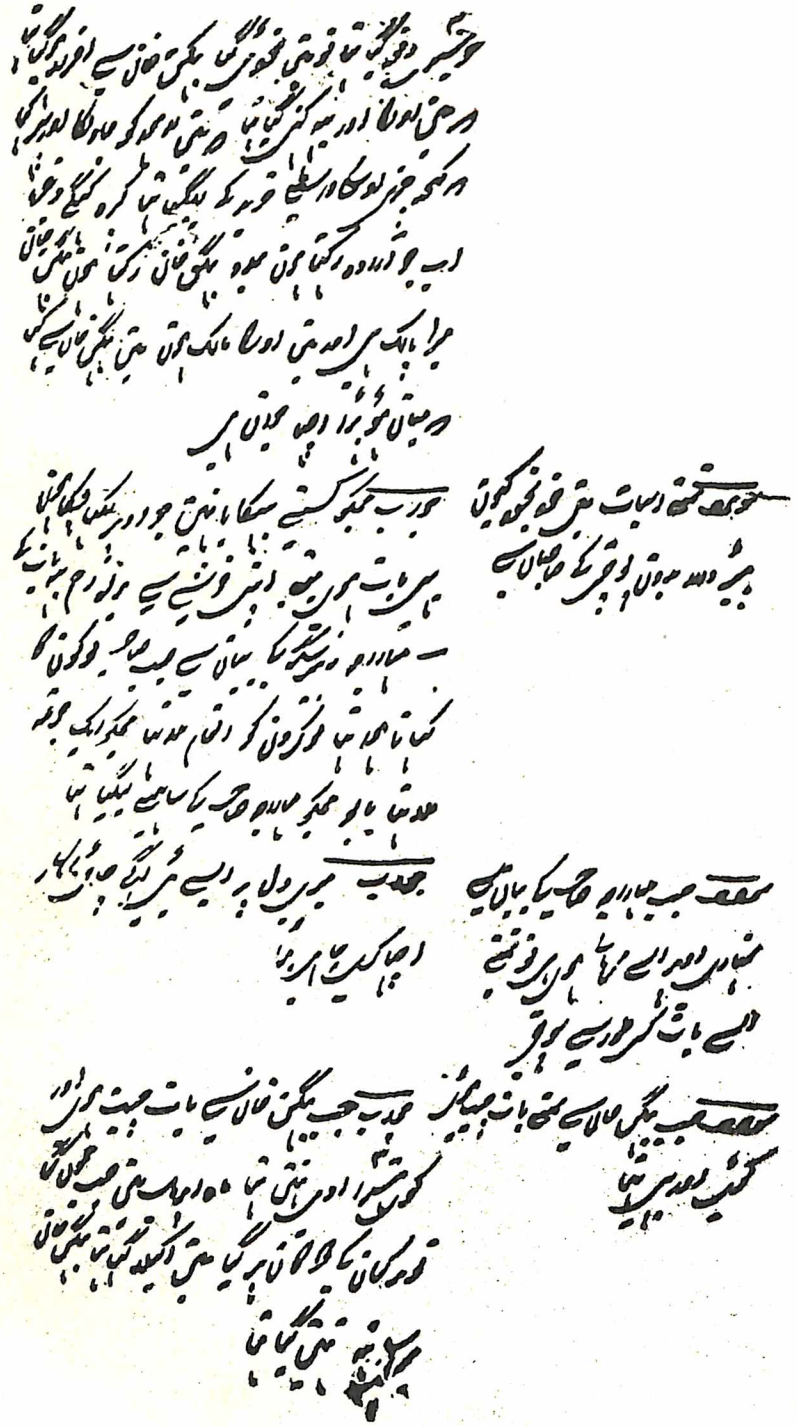


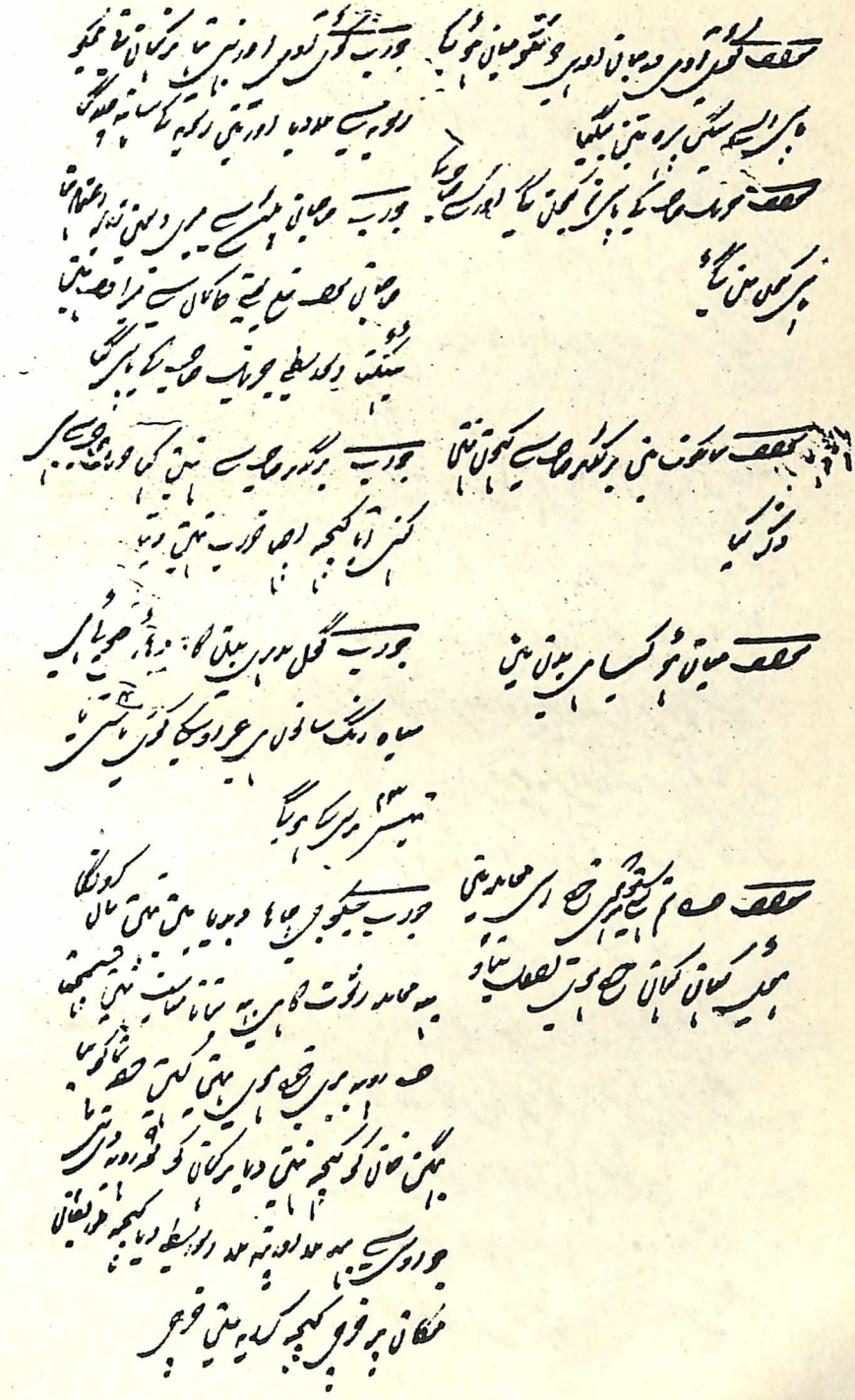


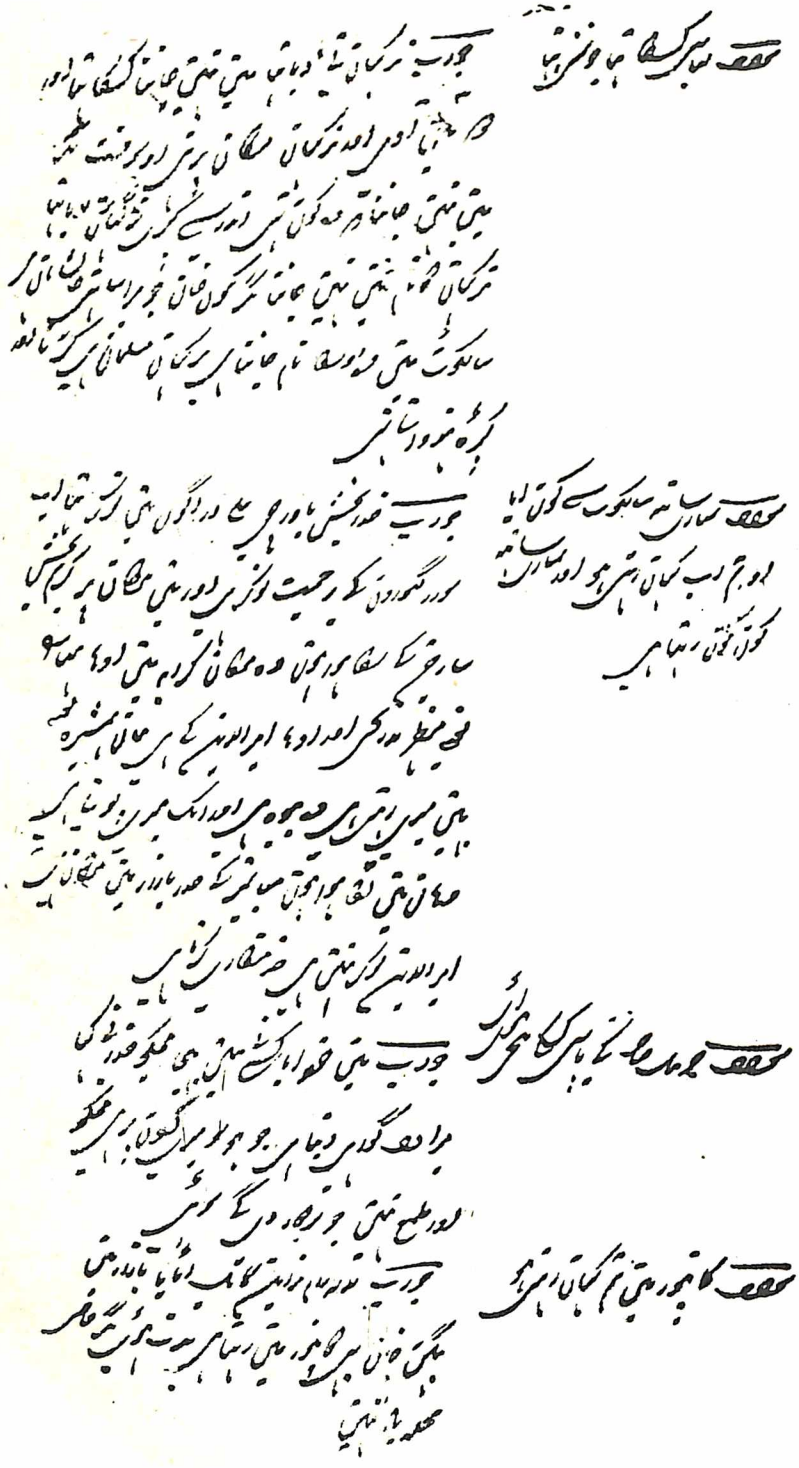


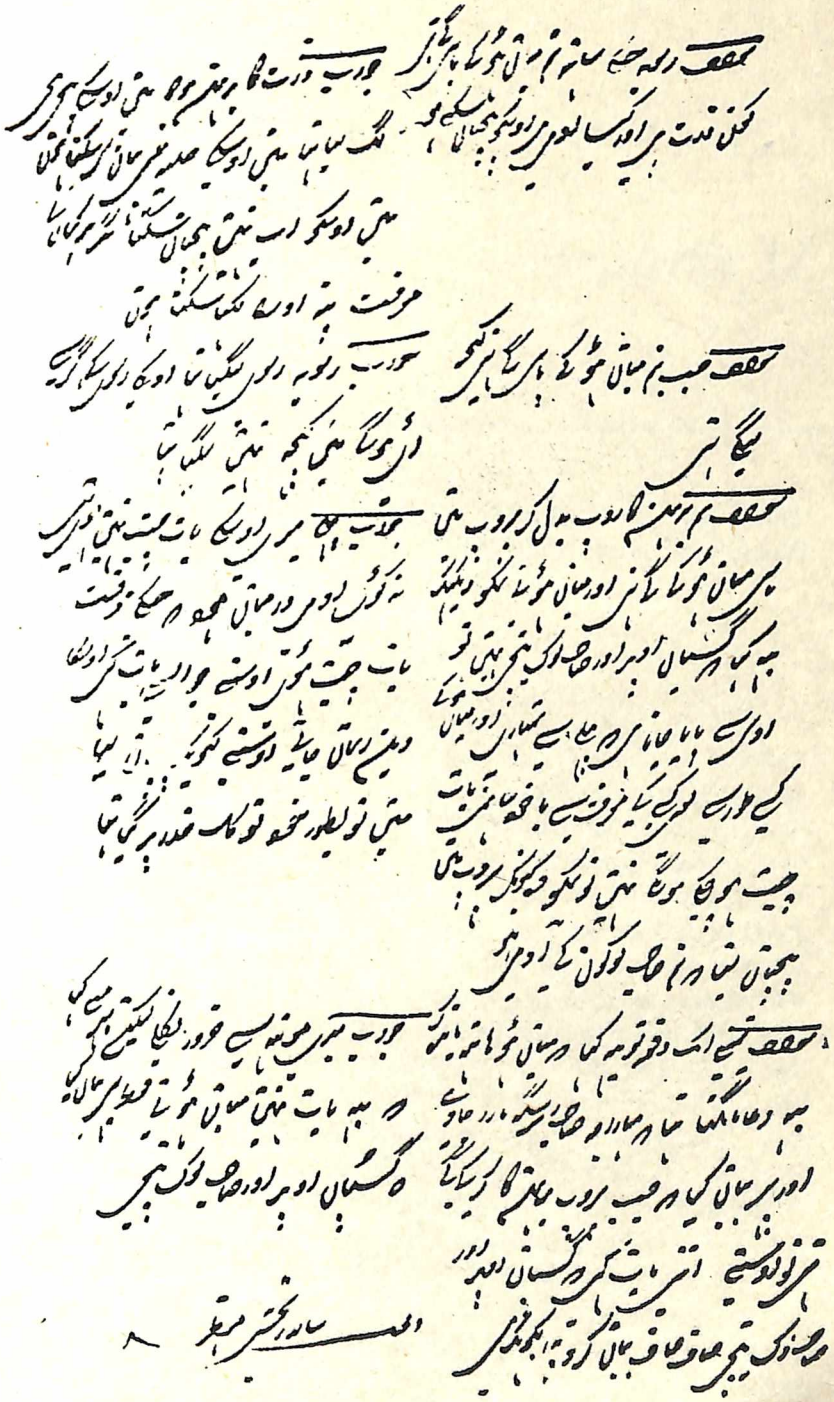












Appendix 12

Translation of Persian correspondence between Maharaja Ranbir Singh and the Government of India, in connection with the appointment of Resident in Kashmir, in the year 1873 A.D.

Letter No. 1

My Friend,

Khaliq Dar had stated that when he was in Yarkand, a member of the Russian Mission had a talk with him, that there would be direct correspondence between your Highness and the Russian Government. On being informed of this His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India has directed me to intimate to your Highness, that whatever truth there may be in Khaliq Dar's story, your Highness has done well in sending an abstract there of to me. *Your Highness is doubtless, aware that inter-communication with Russia is an Imperial concern which exists with Her Majesty's Government. In view of the relations subsisting between your Highness and the British Government, direct correspondence between Rusia and Kashmir is not proper, but will lead to improper complications.* His Excellency the Viceroy is Council, thereof, admires that act of your Highness. Further I may inform your Highness that His Excellency is of opinion that *on account of the work connected with the Yarkand Mission deputed to act on the commercial Treaty and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with Ataliq Ghazi, both Mr. Van*(?) AND Mr. Shaw should remain on their posts for whole year. As Your Highness State is situated on North-Eastern Frontier of British India and is an important place, and there are many political dealing with Central Asia, and it is urgently necessary to have correct

and expeditious news and accounts on the other side of the passes and the Mountains (Himalaya) and as owing to exaggerated and unfounded rumours of these parts, great inconvenience is caused, and as His Excellency is convinced that our relations with Yarkand are progressing, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that a British Resident may remain permanently in Your Highness' Court. This change in the present arrangement has become apparent on account of the relations that have spring up between British India and countries outside India. His Exellency, however, does not wish that there should be any interference in the internal affairs of Kashmir. Were His Excellency not otherwise engaged and busy, he would meet your Highness and express the opinion personally. His Excellency hopes to have such an opportunity.

In the end I am to convey that heart felt thanks of the Government of India for the assistance given to Mr. Forsyth and his Mission etc.

(Translation of letter from Sir Henry Davis Lt. Governor Punjab to H.H., dated Murree the 12th Sept. 1873).

Letter No. 2

Reply from His Highness

I am proud of your Honours letter dated the 26th September 1873 sent to me in time through Major Van (?) and I am thankful that His Excellency in Council has approved of the action taken in respect of Khaliq Dar the conduct of any correspondence between Russia and my Government will be contrary to the relations between me and the British Government. It is a fact and also contrary to etiquette, that when we owe allegiance to one king, we never turn our attention to another; and it is always during such times, the touchstone of a man, that proofs of the kind have been offered.

In regard to the matters, that His Excellency in Council has decided that Messre Van and Shaw should in the interests of the Mission remain for one year on the posts, that a British Resident should remain in my Court, that owing to his being engaged otherwise His Excellency has postponed meeting me; that His Excellency would personally speak of these things to me and that he will find an early opportunity of doing so...I beg to submit that in fact the work of the Mission is an important one, and (your friend) wish that this work may come to a successful issue; for it will not only be a matter of pleasure to the British Government, but it will also benefit me

inasmuch as it will mean, peace on Boundaries, assurance on account of Frontier disputes, advancement in trade in my territories, particularly shawl-wool, on which depends the shawl manufacture of Kashmir, and these things will by the Grace of God, Greatness of Her Majesty he assured during the course of a few months. But in connection with this important matter I (your friend) beg to express some considerations which I think important and indispensable for the honour of my Government, but this cannot be done in writing I therefore, wish that some time after the Mission has reached Yarkand, it would be very kind of your Honour if I could meet you on reaching Jammu so that I would personally explain the matters to you and then through you to His Excellency, the Viceroy, or send soon Dewan Jawala Sahai to you for the purpose. It is very kind of you to have conveyed the thanks of the Government of India for the facilities and help rendered by me (your friend) to the Yarkand Mission.

Subject matter of an application praying that a Resident may not be appointed in the Kashmir State.

.....

You mentioned to me that His Excellency the Governor-General of India in view of the Central Asian Affairs considered it necessary to have a Resident in my Darbar, who may stay here throughout the year. Having thoroughly considered that pros and cons of the question I have come to the conclusion that with the exception of one favourable point which, however, can be easily gained in the manner indicated below, there are certain points which will adversely affect the interests of the state and which can be divided as follows:

Firstly, with regard to the favourable points, there is none but the affairs of Central Asian as mentioned by you. As regards the points against the proposal, these are as follows:

Firstly the appointment of a Resident will be against all the treaties and sanads which will be fully dealt latter on.

Secondly, it will be generally concluded that the appointment of a Resident has been the result of mal-administration or some doubt or misdeed.

Thirdly, the heirs to the countries conquered by the Late Maharaja Sahib as well as their relations, when it is rumoured that the British Government has lost faith in us, will set a float such rumours, as will prove very infurious to the State Administration. Other undesirable consequences are feared which will be described later on. In as much as you very kindly favoured me with a visit and as

it is my duty to consult the wishes of the British Government, especially Governor-General and yourself it is my duty to see that the British Government may be relieved of all anxiety with respect to Central Asian affairs. I agree that the British Joint Commissioner may stay till such time as the Mission completes its work throughout the year in Lai for the affairs of Central Asia and may keep the Government informed from time to time. It may also be brought to your notice that in appointing Englishmen like Mr. Drew and Mr. Johnson in Ladakh, I was actuated with the desire to relieve Government of all anxgiety. The appointment of a Resident in my Darbar will serve no useful purpose in respect to the Mission or the Central Asian Affairs. Supposing that the appointment of a Resident is necessary, the work of the Mission as well as of the affairs of Yarkand and Central Asia may be entrusted to the British official who is deputed for six months of summer to Kashmir and in case of the duties being heavy if the official stays in Kashmir for eight months I will have no objection. The presence of the officer in Kashmir during the 3 or 4 months of winter will not be required as all work connected with Yarkand, as passage of papers and men, is absolutely stopped during the period. Mr. Forsyth also in his letter to me regarding arrangements for Dak wrote to the same effect.

By this arrangement the object of Government will be fully gained. The appointment of Resident in my court will in addition to lowering me in the estimation of people be for the following reasons opposed to unity.

Firstly—That 28 years have elapsed since the execution of the Treaty and action has so far been taken in conformity with the provisions thereof, while the proposal in question is a departure therefrom.

Secondly—During this long period all official correspondence was conducted by Supreme Government through the State Representative posted in your office and now that all work has been entrusted to the Resident, I have despaired of the connection I had with you and it betrays a want of attention on your part to let me have the dealings with the officer a forementioned.

Thirdly—In the Kharita dated the 7th August, 1857 in connection with mourning and installation received from the Supreme Government on the death of the late Maharaja Sahib, it is expressly laid down that I shall be accorded treatment similar to that with the late Maharaja. The procedure now proposed was never followed in the time of the late Maharaja,

Fourthly—At the time of Major Mcgregor's appointment in Srinagar in 1952 it was agreed with Colonel Lawrence and the condition was repeatedly reduced to writing that the aforementioned officer shall stay only during summer and the agreement has been acted up to ever since.

Fifthly—In the disturbance which on account of Sardar Chattar Singh and Amir Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul occurred in Gujarat and other districts of the Punjab my state rendered prominent services to the Governor as sending armies to help the Government against the enemies and abstaining from giving any help—or allow them to enter to the mountainous portion of the state. And I myself all the while stayed in Jammu and did not listen to the tempting letters that were received from Amir Dost Mohammad Khan and Sardar Chattar Singh and remaind fire and loyal to the Government and rendered me riterious services to the Government. Subsequently in the mutiny of 1857 the late Maharaja Sahib breathed his last during the mutiny and in spite of the fact that Sir John Lawrence advised me to took to the administration of my state before thinking of rendering assistance to the Government adding that it mattered not if I did not send armed forces to Delhi, I wrote back that my foremost duty was to remain faithful and rendered service to the Government and at the time of the demise of Maharaja Sahib, I unhesitatingly despatched armies to Delhi. although agreeably to the Treaty. I was required to render assistance in contiguous countries only as laid down in the sanad granted by Sir John Lawrence on 22nd May, 1858. After the conquest of Delhi all Maharaja were granted territories and Jagirs and my wishes were also consulted but I replied that I did not covet territory or Jagir the Government may, however, keep in mind the services rendered by me. At the time of Mutiny I was quite young and not withstanding my inexperience I did not hesitate to render assistance, now that I have gained experience. I shall be the better able to render service to the Government and consequently deserve better confidence of the Government.

Sixthly—The Maharaja of Patiala Juid and Nabha who took part with me in the activities of Delhi and are mentioned in the Murasla of Lord Canning dated the 10 October 1857 regarding conquest of Delhi, were granted Jagirs by the Government and enhanced powers were granted to them and the Agency that had been established 3 years previously was kindly removed, while in the case of my state where Agent was never appoint it is proposed denovo.

Seventhly—The administration of my state is, with the grace of God and with your attention improving daily so much so that not-

withstanding the fact that the country is covered with Forests and the inhabitants are armed mountaineers and uncouth, the crimes of society maranding have never been committed and the crimes of wilful homicide, murder and burglary are also very rare. The police is improving from day to day. The trade has increased to three times its value in the past years. The population of the country as well as the cash contracts are also on the increase, you may see for yourself the progress made in all our departments. Moreover, I personally superintend all State Affairs. Appointment of a Resident in other states was invariable due to either the minority the Ruler or the mal-administration of the state.

Eigthly—The Resident appointed in other states were never required to stay only for definite periods, while I possessed several stands to the British Government that the officers would only remain for the summer season.

Ninthly—In the case of Khaliq Dar, who stated to have been sent by the Russian the fresh evidence of truthfulness and the services rendered to the mission you yourself have acknowledged, inspire confidence in me although the existence of such a thing in me is not a matter of wonder.

Tenthly—To convince me you have written in the letter that the Resident will not interfere in the internal affairs of the state, but previously in Ladakh, it was written in the Late (McLeod's letter, Kharita), dated the 13th April 1867 and the said officer would not interfere in any way, and that he had been appointed for that year only for the purpose of reporting on the affairs of Turkistan. He (Dr. Cayley) issued a notice in his own writing, regarding trade in shawl wool of the effect that "in supersession (cancellation) of His "Highness" (i. e. my) orders, I order" and got it pasted on the Bazar gate of the city of Leh. Although in this respect I represented to Mr. McLeod, and Sir John Lawrence, but with no result. If God forbid, the Resident also interferes it may be that the supreme Government might not pay any regard to our representation, as in the part. If, however, the Government know for justice, are pleased to consider it, the officer might be displeased, and will make misrepresentations against us to the Supreme Government from time to time, which will lead to the displeasure of the Government and be the cause of our loss. If on the other hand, out of regard for the said officer we keep silent, we shall have to bear the inconveniences (brunt) of interference.

Eleventhly—In the year Samvat (1923), during the incumbency of Mr. Cooper on Special Duty, I remitted a sum of Rs. 22,00,000

outstanding from His Late Highness, tune against Zamindars, and when I received a Murasla from Mr. McLeod in that connection, to the effect, that I had given great pleasure to learn of the remission of a huge sum, which I had remitted with the advice of and in consultation with Mr. Cooper, I war simply superised for Mr. Cooper had never been consulted (i. e. his advice had not been taken) so it may be that any good act or service that the state might render, will have the name of the Resident associated with it and this act or service of the Government (whether advancement of the country), was done in consultation with the advice of the said office and in that case our labours will be fruitless.

Twelfthly—The Murasla of 1873 A.D. appointing Mr. Van states that the said officer had been appointed according to the usual practice, but the present appoinment is against to the above writing communications.

So in view of the above reasons, the appointment of a resident will mean a bad name and because of disgrace Central Asian Affairs, (the officer) may remain for the whole year in Ladakh, and there will be no objection for me, if he stays for eight months in Srinagar. But the work of state should continue through the special Representative (Motamed) with the Punjab Government etc. that there be no transfression of the laws of the mixed court, which had been advertised in the Gazette of India. For future you out of your patronage for me can well imagine that this dreadful act is.

Letter No. 3

(*Translation of a letter from His Highness to Lord Ripon*)

His Excellency is well aware that I have been unwell for the last two years; and that during the summer on account of heat I could not find strength enough to wait (on your Highness) in regard to an important matter. While looking forward an opportunity in the winter it was a matter of immense pleasure to learn of the happy news of your visit, and I consider it a providential act in the interest of myself and my state, and a grateful to your excellency that I have found an opportunity to submit my request. I am therefore convinced that the British Government will extend the same favour or kindness to my successors as my revered father enjoyed, and which I have been enjoying and that the honours and powers of my Government will remain so far ever. If the change that has at present taken place in the matter of correspondence between the British Government and myself, has not given rise to apprehensions in me, I should not have

given trouble to your Excellency on this occasion, and I firmly hope that Your Execellency will out of your considerations of justice (for me) and principals of greatness, dispel my fears, which will be instrumental in restoring me to my health. In lieu of the loyal services which I have rendered on momentous occasions, mention of which will amount to self-commendation, and even now am prepared heart and soul to render the (British) Government has conferred on me inumerable favours since the time of my father uptodate and the (offers of the) Government have always had in view the firmness (strength) of my full powered government, as will be clear from the sanads of His Excellency and officers of Government to this effect, and the Imperial Government has never upto this time, contrary to these sanads, interfered in the Interal administration (management) of the State. In 1873 A.D. the Imperial Government had proposed instituting a Resident in my Court (Darbar) but as it was a matter of my disgrave. I made a detailed representation, and in reply Lord Northbrook sanad dated the 25th March 1874 A.D. abolishing the Resident was received. I was assured that the officer on Special Duty in Kashmir would be styled so instead of "Resident" and that I would not be compelled to do what would be unpleasant to me. Your excellency is well aware that in 1877 A.D. correspondence between the Government of India and myself was conducted through the Punjab Government and my representative (Motamed) with that Government and that year Lord Lytton made a change to the extent that in important or urgent matters there would be direct correspondence without the channel of Punjab Government with the Government of India but that according to the past communication would continue to be through the Representative (Motamid). It was due to this change that I should appoint my representative (Motamid) to remain with the Government of India as well be evident from the following experts:

Sanad (Kharita) dated 14th May, 1877

This arrangement has been introduced that there be expedition in work; not that there by any change in the duties of the officer who is on Special duty, nor that this power be enhanced. It is, therefore, hoped that your Highness will approve of this change in the Dastur-al-Amal. This change is as much for the good of the state as of Great Britain. It may be that on account of this change (in procedure) done which best intentions you (friend) may desire to have a representative with the Supreme Government, as there is with the

Lt. Governor Punjab. It is needless to say that it will be a pleasure to see the Motamed nominated by your Highness, appointed.

Letter No. 4

Memo of Foreign Secretary, Government of India dated the 20th July 1877

Received your Highness message, through Dewan Govind Sahai, for His Excellency the Viceroy in regard to the new change in the matter of correspondence between the Government of India and your Highness, his Excellency is sorry that there has been a misunderstanding about this change. Truly speaking only this much change has taken place that in matters of urgent, political importance, communications and muraslas from your Highness to the Government of India and from His Excellency to your Highness were conducted through the Punjab Government in the past, but according to the new arrangement such communications will be sent not through the Punjab Government, but direct to His Excellency, the Viceroy or the Foreign Secretary. It may be known to you that your Highness has the option to send your communications whether to His Excellency or the Lt. Governor, as occasion or opportunity may arise that in matters of important political nature to the address of His Excellency and other ordinary matters to that of the Lt. Governor Punjab through your representative with the Government of India or that with the Punjab Government, or through the officer on Special Duty i.e. they may be sent as your Highness likes, or may be convenient to your Highness.

Sanad dated the 4th December 1877.

Letter No. 5

Your Highness may be convinced that there is no desire or intention whatsoever to enhance the duties or powers of the officer on Special Duty and I quite agree with your Highness that in the present circumstances it is inadvisable to effect any change in the position and powers of this officer. You may rest assured that in matters of this nature the Govt. of India will have regard for your Highness wishes. It is hoped that my sincere wish that the relations between 1/H and the Govt. of India be in every way conducive to the greatness and constancy of your state, must have always become known to your H.

And subsequently the same procedure remained in force. But now a change has taken place for the last two years that is to say that the papers which were according to past practice submitted to the Supreme Govt. through the motamed on duty were returned by the Govt. and the Motamid was informed that for Frontier matters the channel of communication was the office on special duty. I had no objection to keeping the officer on Special duty informed of all matters pertaining to Frontier as desired by the Govt. of India and copies of all such papers were sent to the said officers, but it was simply considered to be an honour for the state to submit such things through the representative (Motamid on duty). Besides, other functions which used to be conducted through the Motamid have been stopped. These things have led to grave apprehensions. Meanwhile I am greateful to the Supreme Govt. for having deputed a gentle and just man like Colonel Oliver St. John, officer on special duty and I am also thankful to the Colonel Sahib for his kindness and treatment. But as times must change and also the officer of the Govt. I therefore respectfully request that in conformity with the treaties and obligations (sanads) and old practice and procedure may continue for ever and work be conducted through the Motamid on duty. As your Excellency's attention is now-a-days drawn to the fact that every one in India high and low may enjoy the benefits of freedom to me there would be no better opportunity to submit this request for my good as well as the welfare of my progeny dated the 10th Nov. 1883.

Letter No. 6

Translation of Reply from Lord Ripon

My dear Friend,

I have carefully considered your Highness Kharita dated the 10th Nov. 1883 to my address and regret that owing to unfavourable circumstances reply has been so much delayed. Your Highness refers there in to the arrangement of 1877 A.D. which provided that the representative of Kashmir was authorised to remain in attendance at the headquarters of Govt. of India. Your Highness write by way of complain, that for some time past your Highness Vakil is not being considered the channel of communication between Y.H. and myself (Govt. of India). Kind Friend; it appears that Y.H. has not perhaps received full information as regards real facts. I am sure that no interference in your proper rights (legitimate claims) has taken

place. When my predecessor in office had sanctioned the arrangement of 1877 A.D. it had been agreed that an officers of the British Government would be posted at Gilgit so that your Highness' hands would be strengthened in administering the relations beyond the Frontier and that this officer would submit through the offices on special duty in Kashmir correct reports of events and news taking place in adjoining places so as to reach the Government expeditiously. I had informed Y.H. in the Kharita of 18th June 1881, that under the existing conditions, the appointment of a British officer at Gilgit was not considered necessary but at the same time had expressed a wish that in future all important correspondence regarding external relations might be sent through the officer on special duty. During the month of May and June 1882 A.D. facts were brought to light that gave rise to doubts whether due regard had been paid to the obligations (agreements) specified in the Kharita of 18th June 1881, which were considered very important, Mr. Henvey was deputed, so that he might draw your Highness, attention to the words I have had written and that he might clearly tell Dewan Anant Ram that the officers on special duty was the proper channel of communication specially in regard to matters pertaining to foreign relations, and Mr. Henvey was also put on duty that some papers which Dewan Govind Sahai had sent from Jammu to foreign office be returned. But in spite of my having again expressed my wishes in the matter, Y.H.'s Vakil continued to correspond as in the past with the Foreign office of the Govt. of India even on urgent matters prertaining to the Frontiers of Y.H. In view of the considerations already stated, it was difficult for me to approve of such a procedure (of correspondence) as it entails delay and meant irregularity and interference in the arrangement of work. It was therefore necessary that the papers received from Govind Sahai be returned so that the procedure that was both easier and better and was already described in the Kharita of 18th June, 1881, be there was no change in his position as Vakil of Y.H., except in the matter, for which there is no permission of correspondence pertaining to Y.H.'s Frontier. I am sure you will admit that by this procedure and arrangement it was only my desire that the relations of interests and welfare subsisting between Y.H. and the British Government may be safeguarded and made permanent.

I beg to expressed the high consideration I entertain for you.

Source: File No. 1, translation of application (in Persian) of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, concerning appointment of a Resident in Kashmir, Old English Records, State Archival Repository, Jammu.

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